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MEMOIRS
OF THE
Duke DE VILLARS,
MARSHAL GENERAL
OF THE
ARMIES
Of his moſt
Chriſtian Majeſty.

CONTAINING,

His Riſe under the moſt famous *French* Generals of the laſt Age; The Difficulties he met with from the MINISTRY; His Intrigues at the Court of *Bavaria*; and his ſecret Negotiations in *Vienna*, relating to the Succeſſion of the *Spaniſh* MONARCHY.

Intermix'd with a great Number of MILITARY OBSERVATIONS on the BATTLES in which he fought.

Extracted from ORIGINAL PAPERS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Duke DE VILLARS, &c.

LEWIS-HECTOR Duke *de Villars*, Peer and Marſhal of *France*, Prince of *Martigues*, Viſcount of *Melun*, Marquiſs of *la Nocle*, Earl of *la Rochemillet*, Commandant of the King's Orders, Grandee of *Spain* of the firſt Claſs, Knight of the Golden Fleece; Governour of the Cities, Forts and Caſtle of *Friburg* and of *Briſgow*; of the Cities, Citadel and Territory of *Metz* and of *Verdun*; Governor-General of *Provence*, *Marſeilles*, *Arles*, and the adjacent Territories; Generaliſſimo of the King's Armies; his Plenipotentiary and Embaſſador Extraordinary for the Treaties of Peace at *Raſtatt*, and Chief of the Embaſſadors for ſigning the General Peace at *Baden*; afterwards Preſident of the Council of War, and of the Council of the Regency; Miniſter of State after the demiſe of the Duke of *Orleans*, and ſince Marſhal-General, is the Perſon whoſe Memoirs we now give.

His Father was *Peter de Villars*, Baron of *Maclas* and of *Sara*; Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies; Commandant of the King's Orders; Governour of *Damvilliers* and of *Bezançon*; Aſſiſtant-Judge in Cauſes both Civil and Criminal, and Embaſſador Extraordinary in *Spain*, in *Piemont*, and in *Denmark*. He married *Mary* of *Bellefonds*.

The Houſe of *Villars* is very ancient, and was more powerful in 1320, than it has been ſince. The Titles and Marriage-contracts prove, at leaſt from that Period, that none of this Family have married beneath themſelves; and 'tis even conjectured, that before the Age abovementioned, they had married into very illuſtrious Families; however, we ſhall advance nothing but what may be proved.

In the latter Ages, this Houſe has given Birth to five Archbiſhops of *Vienne*, and Biſhops of *Mirepoix* and of *Agen*. The Eſtate of the Family was very inconſiderable; however, ſome of the Deſcendants ſignalized themſelves by a great Number of warlike Actions, but in different Periods; and the Perſon who endeavoured moſt to raiſe his Fortune, was *Peter de Villars*, the Duke's Father. He had a noble, majeſtic Aſpect, which naturally claims Reſpect, and is an Indication of

Virtue. He was as valiant a Man as any of his Time; received many deep Wounds in the Field; and had the ill-fortune (almoſt unavoidable in that Age) to be engaged in ſeveral Duels; and laſtly, in that famous one fought between the Dukes *de Nemours* and *de Beaufort*, on which occaſion he killed the Duke *de Beaufort*'s Second, and was obliged to fly. This accident, and the Troubles which the Civil Wars raiſed in the Kingdom, were at firſt a great Obſtacle to the Advancement of his Fortune.

At the Time that the Prince of *Conti* had the Command of the Armies, *Peter*, Marquiſs *de Villars* was Lieutenant-General in thoſe of *Italy* and *Catalonia*. He was made Governour of *Damvilliers*, one of the Strong-holds, beſtowed on the Princes of the Blood, during the Civil Wars.

The Peace of the *Pyrenees* deprived him of this Government, and left him unſettled and unprovided, when, in the Beginning of the War of *Flanders*, *Lewis* XIV, deſirous of having experienced Officers near his Perſon, appointed Lieutenant-Generals to be his Aids de Camps, and among the reſt, Marquiſs *de Villars*. His heroic Air, which ſupported by his Actions, had gained him the Name of *Orondates*,

dates, pleaſed the King, and from that moment his Fortune ſeemed to aſſume a more favourable Aſpect; but his Alliance with Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, a profeſſed Enemy to all the Miniſters of his Time, made him incur their Hatred, eſpecially that of Mr. *de Louvois*.

The King being ſenſible that he might juſtly expect great Services from Marquiſs *de Villars*, intended to beſtow upon him the ſame Command which Marſhal *Schomberg* had been honoured with in *Portugal*, and accordingly had given him Orders to go thither. This Commiſſion ſeemed to promiſe him the Dignity of Marſhal of *France*, but he was croſſed in his Expectations by Mr. *de Louvois*. The King afterwards gave him the Government of *Bezançon*, but this he was obliged to quit, upon account of a Diſpute he had with the Marquiſs *de Gadagne*, Governour of *Dole*, who was protected by the abovementioned Miniſter. He was appointed Governour of *Doway*, but the Enmity of the Secretary at War, (Mr. *de Louvois* abovementioned) made him loſe that alſo. Nevertheleſs, after the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, the King being deſirous of concluding a Treaty with *Spain*, ſent Marquiſs *de Villars* thither; declaring to him, at his ſetting out, that he ſhould

ſhould have the Government of *Alſatia* at his return. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſucceeded with the *Spaniards*, and even prevented, (notwithſtanding the powerful Sollicitations of the *Dutch* and the Emperour) *Spain* from uniting with the States-General, during the two firſt Years of the War of 1672. However, at his return, Marquiſs *de Vaubrun* was fixed in *Alſatia*.

At laſt, the invincible Obſtacles which Mr. *de Louvois* threw in his way, obliged him to change his Courſe, and to ſtrike into that of Embaſſies, which the Friendſhip of Mr. *de Lionne*, Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, opened to him. Accordingly he went Embaſſador Extraordinary into *Piemont*, into *Denmark*; and tranſacted very happily, on two occaſions ſome conſiderable Negotiations in *Spain*: And after having ſold and ſpent his Baronies of *Maclas*, and of *Sara*, devolved to him from his Anceſtors; the only Advantage he reaped from all his long and important Services, was, to be made Commandant of the King's Orders, and Aſſiſtant Judge in Cauſes both Civil and Criminal; and unable to beſtow any other Patrimony on *Lewis-Hector*, Marquiſs *de Villars* his Son, than the Example (ſo diſcouraging to any other Man) of great Merit little rewarded.

1670. *Lewis* XIV, appointed at this time an Eſtabliſhment for the Education of the Prime Nobility of his Kingdom, by the Name of Pages of the * Offices. The Duke *de Noailles*, in ſome Favour at that time, ſent one of his Sons thither. *Lewis-Hector de Villars*, was alſo admitted; and being of an advantageous Stature, with a noble Countenance, and a Vivacity which heightned an Exterior that was very engaging in it ſelf, the King ſoon diſtinguiſhed him from the reſt of his Companions.

One Day, in his infant Years, hearing his Father and Mother complain of their ill Fortune, he ſaid to 'em; *I'll make a greater.* Surprized at what they heard, they aſked him the Reaſon he had to ſay ſo, and how he intended to act. *I have already*, ſaid he, *one great Advantage, in being ſprung from You; and beſides, I am reſolved to ſeek for Opportunities in ſuch a Manner, that I will certainly conquer or die*; at the ſame Time he informed them of his ſeveral Views; and expreſſed himſelf ſo well, that his Parent thought they

* *In the* French *'tis*, Page à la grande ecurie, *or*, Page in the Great Stable; *This I have tranſlated* Offices, *becauſe the Apartments of Maſters of the Horſe, Pages, Footmen*, &c. *are ſometimes called* ecurie *in* French, *that is*, Stable, *by which is meant* Offices.

might

might very ſafely, even at that Time, de- 1670.
pend upon their Son's Prediction, ſince Nature had endued him with the moſt happy Diſpoſitions.

In a Journey of the Court into *Flanders*, Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was ſtill a Page, deſired permiſſion to leave the Houſhold, and to take a Tour into *Holland*. He was to go afterwards for *England*, with Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, who was ſent thither to ſooth the Anger of the King and his Subjects, who were greatly exaſperated by a Report which prevailed, *viz.* That the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, Siſter to the King of *England*, had been poiſoned; but he came too late for the Marſhal. At his return from *Holland*, being no longer a Page, and independant, he accompanied Count *de Saint Geran* his Couſin, who was ſent Envoy to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in order to engage him, if poſſible, to join in the War which was projecting againſt *Holland*. He was recalled by a Letter of Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, and ordered to wait upon the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who commanded the Forces of *Colen* and *Munſter*, and was making all the Preparations neceſſary for opening the Campaign upon the *Rhine*. That Duke deſigned to give him a Troop of Horſe in the Troops of *Colen*, which he com-

1670. manded; but Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, who already perceived the growing Merit of his young Relation, was unwilling to have any other Perſon educate him in the Science of War, and accordingly made him return from *Colen*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* arrived at *Verſailles* a few Days before the King's Departure, and prepared to follow Marſhal *de Bellefonds*. But, as he was ſetting out, all his Meaſures were broke by the Marſhal's diſgrace, whom Mr. *de Louvois* ſacrificed to his Reconciliation with Viſcount *de Turenne*, who likewiſe had an Averſion to Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, and was to command, under the King, the principal Army. Here follows the occaſion of his Diſgrace.

'Twas a Cuſtom at that time, for all the great Officers of the Army to *roll*, or in other Words, to command alternately; one Day one Officer, and the other on the Morrow; and even the Marſhals of *France* were ſubject to this Ordinance. Now, Viſcount *de Turenne* declared, that he could not roll with three Marſhals of *France*, meaning Marſhals *de Bellefonds*, *de Crequi*, and *d'Humieres*, as he had ſeen them in the loweſt military Employments, at a Time when he himſelf had the ſupreme Command of Armies. The King,

King, who was not willing to create him 1670.
Conſtable, inſtituted in his favour the
Poſt of Marſhal de Camp General, and
would have annexed to this Dignity, a
Command over the reſt of the Marſhals
of *France*. Thoſe abovementioned refu-
ſed to obey this new Ordinance; and hav-
ing been appointed to command an Ar-
my under the Prince of *Conde*, they were
all three baniſhed two Days before the
Time fixed upon for their Departure.
Marquiſs *de Villars*, who had ſet out be-
fore, now found himſelf alone, (for his
Father who was Embaſſador in *Spain* was
there at that Time) that is to ſay, he had
not the leaſt foreign Aſſiſtance; nor the
leaſt Succour with regard to Fortune, but
what he raiſed to himſelf: A Succour to
which he ever was obliged to have re-
courſe, and which alone ſufficed, as will
plainly appear from the following Ac-
count of his Life. He ſoon reſolved not
to ſerve in the Army in which Marſhal
de Bellefonds was to Command, but to
keep as near the King as poſſible.

Accordingly he followed his Majeſty,
who was marching his Army nearer *Maeſ-
tricht*. *Briſſac*, at that time Lieutenant
of the Life-Guards, was detached with
three Hundred Horſe. Marquiſs *de Vil-
lars* went on this little Expedition, and

1670. drove a Party of the Enemy to the Barriers of *Maeſtricht*, where Marquiſs *de Sauvebeuf* received a very dangerous Wound.

1672. The King afterwards reinforced his Army, with that which the Prince of *Conde* was marching towards *Orſoy*. He divided his Forces, with an intention to attack at one and the ſame time four Strong-holds belonging to the *Dutch*. The Army under the King beſieged *Orſoy*; that of the Prince of *Conde*, *Weſel*; and that of Viſcount *Turenne*, *Burdich*. *Orſoy* was taken in two Days. Count *de St. Geran* was commanded to make a Counter-attack, on which occaſion he was accompanied by Marquiſs *de Villars*.

During the Siege of *Doeſburg*, being at the Head of the Trenches, at the time when the Beſieged were going to make a Sally, he leaped out of the *Boyau*, or Branch of the Trench, and was the firſt who marched againſt the Enemy.

In the beginning of his Majeſty's Conqueſts, the States-General had ſent four Deputies to wait upon him near *Utrecht*, to ſue for Peace; offering him *Maeſtricht*, and ten Millions, by way of ranſom for the Strong-holds he had taken. The Offer was not accepted, the King demanding *Dutch-Brabant*, together with *Orſoy*, *Weſel*,

ſel, *Emmerick*, *Rees*, and *Rhinberg*. Thus 1672.
the Negotiation broke off, and the War
continued.

A little after, the Duke of *Orleans*, his Majeſty's Brother, beſieged *Doeſburg*. The Army under the King being now idle, could no longer be agreeable to a Man who panted ſo eagerly for Opportunities to ſignalize himſelf, and had no inducements to continue in it, as Marquiſs *de Villars*. Accordingly he left it, and flew to that Siege, where, being at the Head of the Trench when the Enemy ſallied out, he appeared at the Head of thoſe who repulſed them. And indeed, the Duke of *Orleans* thought himſelf obliged to mention him, in the Letters he ſent to his Majeſty.

He was preſent at the famous Paſſage of the *Rhine*; an (almoſt) raſh and ſo bold an Action, that it can ſcarce be parallelled, the particulars of which are univerſally known. Marquiſs *de Villars* was one of the firſt that plunged into the River.

After this, (for he ever ran in purſuit of Danger) he went to Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was beſieging *Crevecoeur*.

So many Particulars occur in theſe Memoirs, that we are obliged to mention but very ſlightly thoſe Circumſtances

1672. which relate to Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Youth.

The Chevalier *de la Rochefoucault*, Cornet of the *Burgundian* Light-Horſe, having been killed, Marquiſs *de Villars* intreated Mr. *de Saint Geran*, to ſollicite his Majeſty to beſtow that Poſt upon him.

This Count, his only Relation, who had then an Opportunity to ſpeak in his Favour, refuſed it, ſaying, that he knew that Poſt was deſigned for ſuch Perſons only, as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their long Services, and were happy in powerful Patrons. Marquiſs *de Villars*, who, notwithſtanding the Reaſons and Advice of his Relation, was conſcious that he deſerved it; waited himſelf upon the King for that purpoſe, and immediately obtained his Requeſt. The next Day the * *Gendarmerie*, among whom he was now entered, were detached to join the Army of Viſcount *Turenne* upon the *Rhine*. Many little Poſts upon the *Moſelle* were attacked; and there were ſeveral Parties, one among the reſt in which *la Fitte*, one of the beſt † *Partizans*, attacked three Hundred *Brandeburg* Horſe. Marquiſs *de Villars* was preſent on this occaſion; and

* A Body of the King of *France*'s Life-Guard.

† Leaders of Parties of Men detached on Service.

he

he endeavoured every Day to be ſtill more deſerving, even of the Favours he had already received. 1672.

The Campaign being ended, he went to ſee the Winter Quarters of the *Gendarmerie* ſettled on the *Saare*, and returned to Court. At that time the King of *Spain*, having been extremely ill of the Small-Pox, the King ſent Marquiſs *de Villars* to compliment him on his Recovery. The Marquiſs could not but be extremely well pleaſed with this Commiſſion, eſpecially as his Father was Embaſſador at the *Spaniſh* Court, and in great Eſteem with the Queen-Mother. Accordingly he went thither, and met with a very gracious Reception; and at his leaving that Kingdom, he was honoured by the *Spaniſh* Monarch with a very noble Preſent.

At this time the Duke *de Lauzun* was put under an Arreſt. As his Character is ſomewhat extraordinary, we believe it may not be improper to give ſome Account of him in this Place. He was a brave Man, and of a Caſt of Mind more proper for Courts than for Buſineſs. He was but of low Stature, and diſcovered nothing in his Air and Figure, that ſeemed to promiſe him ſo much good Fortune in Gallantry as was pretended.

He

1672. He was related to Marſhal *de Grammont*; lived at his Houſe, and was one of the Princeſs of *Monaco*'s firſt Admirers. The late King, beſides the very ſtrong Paſſion he entertained for Madamoiſelle *de la Valliere*, and Madam *de Monteſpan*, had been liberal of his Favours to ſeveral Ladies who ſollicited them, and among the reſt to the Princeſs of *Monaco*. This laſt, at the Time that the Duke *de Lauzun* made his Addreſſes to her, happened to gaze very attentively upon the King, ſhe being ſeated on the ground upon Cuſhions. *Lauzun*, jealous at what he ſaw, retired without ſeeming to look behind him, and put his Heel upon the Princeſs of *Monaco*'s Hand, as ſhe was looking moſt earneſtly at the King. Immediately a great Outcry was heard. The King ſaw plainly that *Lauzun* had done it for the purpoſe; and the latter talked with ſo much Inſolence, that his Majeſty was forced to ſend him to the *Baſtile*, where he ſpoke in ſuch indecent Terms, even of the King himſelf, as ſeemed to pronounce his ruin. However, it had a quite contrary Effect, and the King being determined to ſhow his Generoſity to the Courtier, not only forgave him, but, ſtruck with *Lauzun*'s Haughtineſs and Greatneſs

of

of Soul, he afterwards indulged him very 1672.
ſignal Marks of his Favour.

He now reſumed the Air of a Court-Favourite, and made his Addreſſes to Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the greateſt Fortune in *Europe*. She had flattered herſelf with the Hopes of marrying the King; and refuſed the firſt Prince of the Blood, and even the King of *England*. Tho' in Years, ſhe yet was touched at the Addreſſes of a Favourite; and grew ſo paſſionately fond of *Lauzun*, that ſhe reſolved to marry him. On the other Side, the little Gentleman inflamed her Love by an affected Coldneſs, which he grounded on the Fear he was under, leſt the Princeſs whom he pretended to adore, ſhould be ſo very ſilly as to marry him.

The more Obſtacles he threw in the way of their Marriage, the more Mademoiſelle endeavoured to remove them. At laſt, he informed the King with an Air of Secrecy, of this Amour; aſſuring him at the ſame Time, that he was ſenſible to no other Paſſion than that of ſerving his Majeſty. Mademoiſelle being reſolved to marry the Duke at any rate, the King gave his Conſent, and ſeemed to approve it.

So

1672. So great was *Lauzun*'s Vanity, that he intended to marry Mademoiſelle with the uſual Ceremonies, and had three Days to conſider of it. All his Enemies, eſpecially the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, took Advantage of this delay, and prevailed with Madame *de Monteſpan* to exert herſelf on this occaſion. They even obliged her Majeſty to take ſome little notice of it, and the King revoked the Conſent he had given. *Lauzun* was offered by way of Compenſation, the Dignities of Peer, and Marſhal of *France*, with the Privilege of waiting upon the King in his private Hours, *&c.* Of the ſeveral Honours which were offered him, he accepted only of the laſt. Acting like a true Courtier, he preferred the Employment which fixed him near the King's Perſon, to all Things, in hopes of recovering his Majeſty's Conſent, the Paſſion of Mademoiſelle being as violent as ever. But *Lauzun* would never pardon Madam *de Monteſpan*; and after endeavouring, but in vain, to ruin her with the King, he treated her ſo very ill, that ſhe prevailed with his Majeſty to order Marquiſs *de Rochefort*, Captain of the Guards, to put him under an Arreſt. He was carried to the Caſtle of *Pignerol*, where he continued a Priſoner ten Years, and was not releaſed,

leaſed, till Mademoiſelle reſigned the 1672.
Principality of *Dombes*, and the County of *Eu*, to the Duke *du Maine*, the eldeſt of the Children which Madam *de Monteſpan* had brought the King. This Marriage of this Princeſs with *Lauzun* was not declared, and ſhe gave him the Dukedom of St. *Fargeau*, and other Eſtates. There was little Gratitude on *Lauzun*'s part, who even did not conceal the perfect Averſion he had for her; ſo that ſhe being tall and ſtrong, and he of a ſhort Stature, ſhe would often have beat him, had he not avoided coming to Blows. He was in *England* at the Time that King *James* left that Kingdom; and had ſo far gained the Confidence of this Prince, that he was appointed to convey the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*.

The Year after he went and commanded King *James*'s Army; but both conducted themſelves ſo ill, that they loſt *Ireland* in a few Months.

The remainder of his Life in *France* was ſpent, in petty Court-Intrigues, from which he reaped no manner of Benefit. He married the Daughter of Marſhal *de Lorge*, and having no Iſſue by her, his Eſtates devolved on his Wife, and Marquiſs *de Biron*. 'Twas thought proper to inſert here at length, all that relates to the

1672. the Life and Character of ſo extraordinary a Perſonage as the Duke *de Lauzun.*

The fear of loſing one Day of the Campaign, which was again upon the Point of being opened, haſtned the return of Marquiſs *de Villars*, who, as we before obſerved, was in *Spain*. At *Bruſſels* he met with the King at the Head of his Army, who was going to beſiege *Maeſtricht*. This City was defended by the *Rhingrave*, one of the ableſt Generals in the *Dutch* Service, with nine Thouſand choſen Troops.

The King, out of Tenderneſs for the Nobility, who were ſtrongly deſirous to venture their Lives under his Eye, forbid all Volunteers to go upon any Attack without his Leave; and diſtributing them, gave Orders, that they ſhould mount the Trenches in their turns. Marquiſs *de Villars*, who would not have deſired Leave to go, had he not hoped to obtain it; knowing that it would be refuſed him, becauſe he belonged to the *Gendarmerie*, reſolved to wait till every thing ſhould be prepared for attacking at one and the ſame time, the covert-way and a Half-Moon; and in the Night, he entered the Trench two Hours before the Attack. He brought with him ſix *Gendarmes*, or Life-Guards of his Troop, who

who alſo were Volunteers; when poſting himſelf with the firſt Detachment of Granadiers that was to Sally out, the Moment the Signal was made, by firing ſix Bombs, he marched at the Head of the Attack. A Coat-of-Mail had been given him, but finding it ſo heavy, as to check his Activity, he threw it away as he came out, and entered the Half-Moon with the foremoſt. He had not been a Moment there, when a *Fourneau* ſpringing under him, he was half buried in the Ground. As ſoon as he had removed the Earth with which he was covered, he marched to the Gorge of the Baſtion, to oppoſe ſuch of the Enemy as attempted to enter it. He loſt moſt of his Gendarmes, and the Enemy fired ſo vigorouſly, that all the Officers were killed or diſabled. Himſelf, and one *Vignory*, a *Veteran* Officer, but a Volunteer on this occaſion, were the only Perſons able to defend an indifferent Lodgment. He was ſlightly wounded in ſeveral Places, and that moſtly by the burſting of the Granades. 1672.

The King was preſent at the Attack, and often ſent to enquire what was doing in the Half-Moon. Word was brought, that *Villars* appeared always at the Head. In fine, at Day-break he left the Half-Moon; and the King, ſpying two or three Perſons 1673.

1673. Perſons who had the Air of Officers, coming out of the Trenches, ſent *Lignery*, an Exempt of his Guards, to enquire who they were. *Lignery* finding Marquiſs *de Villars* among them, told him, that his Name had been frequently mentioned to the King in the Night; and thereupon went and told his Majeſty that he was there. Marquiſs *de Rochefort*, afterwards Marſhal of *France*, came and bid him, in the King's Name, come forward; ſaying, with a Smile, *You'll be ſeverely chid.* The Moment the King ſaw him, he aſſumed an Air of ſome Severity, and ſpoke thus to him; *Have not you heard, that I have forbid even Volunteers to go upon any Attack without my Leave, much more Officers, whoſe Duty it is not to ſtir from their Troops, and the Officers of Horſe eſpecially? I imagined,* replied Marquiſs *de Villars, that your Majeſty would pardon me, for endeavouring to learn the Exerciſe and Buſineſs of the Foot, eſpecially when the Horſe have nothing to do.* This Apology could not fail of a wiſhed for Effect; accordingly the King ended his reprimand with great Encomiums on Mr. *de Villars*, whoſe wiſhes Fortune favoured a few Days after, by giving him a freſh Opportunity of hazarding his Perſon. He was riding among the Guards of the Camp, when *Croiſille* a Captain

a Captain of the Guards, and Brother to *Catinat*, who afterwards was a Marſhal of *France*, came and deſired him to order out a Guard of *Gendarmeries*, commanded by a Quarter-maſter, in order to maintain a Poſt of the Regiment of Guards. The Officer who commanded a Guard of the Houſhold, refuſing to leave his Poſt, Marquiſs *de Villars* flew to that of the *Gendarmeries*, and deſired the Commanding-Officer to draw out twenty *Gendarmes*; when leading them himſelf, he repulſed the Enemy to the very Barriers of the Counterſcarp. 1673.

The Skirmiſh grew very warm, when the King advancing up to it, aſked how Matters went? *Croiſille* telling him the ſeveral Particulars; *One would think*, ſays his Majeſty, ſpeaking of Marquiſs *de Villars*, *that the Moment a Fire is heard in any Place, this little Lad riſes out of the Ground, and is ſeen in the midſt of it.*

The thirteenth Day after the opening of the Trenches, *Maeſtricht* ſurrendred, and the *Gendarmerie* were ordered to march to the *Rhine*, to reinforce the Army of Viſcount *de Turenne*, and oppoſe that of the Emperour, and of the Empire, which was aſſembling in *Bohemia*, under the Command of General *Montecuculli*. The Emperour's Army might intend, either

to

1673. to march towards *Philipſburg*, or to beſiege *Bonne*; as it was impoſſible for Viſcount *de Turenne* to defend both Strong-holds, all he could do, was to endeavour to come to Action, and for this purpoſe, to march with all ſpeed towards the Emperour's Army. Accordingly, he advanced, at the Head of the King's Forces, into *Franconia*.

Whilſt this was doing, as it was not in Marſhal *de Bellefond*'s Power to ſerve Marquiſs *de Villars* with his Credit, he reſolved to aſſiſt him with his Advice. He thereupon wrote him a long Letter, filled with military Inſtructions, and exhorted him, among other Particulars, to learn the Duty of a *Partizan*, and to often accompany, as a Volunteer, thoſe who were reputed the moſt experienced this way; obſerving, that ſuch General-Officers as had not learnt it, (how brave ſoever they might be) were oftentimes very much puzzled, when they commanded Parties, in the neighbourhood of an Enemy's Army.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was ſo ſenſible of the Importance of this Advice, that what he had hitherto done from no other Motive than to meet with occaſions to ſhow his Bravery, he continued to practice with new Reſolution, in the view of improving himſelf. He often went upon Parties.

for

for three or four Days together, along with thoſe who were reputed the moſt experienced in this Art. Theſe were, at that Time, the two Brothers of *Saint-Clars*, one of whom, (a Brigadier) was once, for ſix Days together, off from the Army, within Cannon-ſhot of the Enemy; repulſing perpetually their Guards, himſelf being ſheltered by a large Wood into which he withdrew; taking Priſoners, and ſending every Moment to Viſcount *de Turenne*, Advice of the Enemy's Motions. 'Tis certain, that nothing inſtructs an Officer more, than a Duty which teaches him to attack boldly, and to retire with Order and Prudence; and laſtly, which accuſtoms him often to ſee the Enemy near at hand. 1673.

Viſcount *de Turenne* marched at the Head of the *Tober*, on the other Side of *Wurtzburg*. *Montecuculli* advanced, as tho' he intended to fight, and ſeveral very ſharp Skirmiſhes enſued. In one of theſe, the Count *de Guiche*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Army, brought forward the Wing under his Command, and had like to have engaged the whole Army with great diſadvantage. But Viſcount *de Turenne* perceiving this, flew with the utmoſt ſpeed to take away the Enſigns of the Battallions; expoſing only the Volunteers,

1673. teers, among whom, or rather at whoſe Head, the Reader will expect to hear of Marquiſs *de Villars*. He indeed was there with a Kinſman of his, *Sebeville* by Name, who was deeply wounded on this occaſion. Tho' Viſcount *de Turenne* was Marquiſs *de Bellefond*'s Enemy, he yet took notice of what now paſſed under his Eye. Accordingly, he paid the utmoſt Civilities to Marquiſs *de Villars*, and mentioned him, in his Diſpatches to the King, as a young Man who was worthy of being raiſed.

The King's Army, as we before obſerved, was in the Plains at the Head of the *Tober*, fully perſuaded of coming to an Engagement; and the Emperour's Forces were already ſeen to advance forward, when the Biſhop of *Wirtzburg*, being bribed by the Imperialiſts, facilitated their Paſſage over the *Main*. Having croſſed this River, they cut off our Convoys by ſuch Strong-holds of the Biſhoprick of *Wirtzburg* as lay behind us; forced us to retire, and ſuffer the Imperial Army to march unmoleſted, into the neighbourhood of *Franckfort* and *Mentz*; enabling them to made a Deſcent upon *Bonne*, in ſpite of Viſcount *de Turenne*. The beſt Expedient left this General, was, to ſettle in the Territories of the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Lower *Palatinate*, in order

der to refreſh the King's Army; and at the ſame Time, to ſhow a juſt Reſentment againſt the Princes of the Empire, who declared againſt *France*, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Aſſurances they had given to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality. 1673.

The Imperial Army beſieging *Bonn*, which was but poorly fortified, took it in a few Days, and afterwards ſpread along the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*. Viſcount *de Turenne*, deſiring to beſiege ſome Poſts on the Banks of that River, marched to *Boern-Caſtle*, a ſmall City, but defended by a pretty ſtrong Caſtle; however, the Imperialiſts, ſuccoured by the Princes of the Empire, prevented him, and his march was to no purpoſe. All that could now be done, was, to ſend the Army into Winter-Quarters, along the *Saare*, and in Lower *Alſatia*; and during this, as the taking of *Bonn* quite cut off our Correſpondence with the *Dutch*, the *French* were obliged to abandon all the conſiderable Conqueſts, the Town of *Grave* expected.

This Year three naval Engagements were fought between the united Fleets of *England* and *France*, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and Count *d'Eſtrées*; and that of *Holland*, under *Van Trump* and *Ruyter*. The Deſign of the two Crowns, was, to make a Deſcent in the Province

1673. of *Zealand*, which the Prince of *Orange* had been obliged to drain of all its Troops, to reinforce his Army. However, tho' both Sides fought ſeveral Times, with the utmoſt Bravery and Reſolution, yet neither came off with very diſtinguiſhed Succeſs.

Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, who, as well as his Collegues Marſhals *d' Humieres* and *de Crequi*, had at laſt ſubmitted to what was required, with regard to Viſcount *de Turenne*; and who, with them, had been reſtored to the Service, was reſolved to keep *Nimeguen*; and perſiſted in this Deſign, notwithſtanding the Orders of the Court to the contrary. Mr. *de Louvois*, who hated *Bellefonds* as much as ever, took this Opportunity to ruin him, and had him baniſhed a ſecond Time, in leſs than two Years. Thus paſſed the Campaign of 1673.

1674. That of 1674 opened with the Conqueſt of the *Franche Comté*, which the King performed in Perſon, in the depth of Winter; during which, Viſcount *de Turenne* prevented the old Duke of *Lorrain* from paſſing the *Rhine*; he intending to defend that *Comté* with a Body of Forces ſtrong enough for that purpoſe, compoſed of his own Troops, and of thoſe of the Emperour. All the Strong-holds in the *Franche-*

Franche-Comté being ſeized, the King returned to *Verſailles*; and a Deſign was formed to diſpoſe the Armies in another manner, in order to oppoſe the united Force of the greateſt Part of *Europe*. *Spain* had declared againſt us, at the cloſe of the foregoing Year; the greateſt Part of the Empire had done the ſame, and *England* was forced to withdraw the Troops it had ſent us. 1674

'Twas about the Beginning of the Year, that the Emperour cauſed to be carried off at *Colen*, Prince *William* of *Fuſtenberg*, the Elector of *Colen*'s Miniſter and Plenipotentiary at the Conferences held there for the Peace, ever ſince the middle of 1673.

This outrage, which was an Infringement of the Law of Nations, obliged the King to break up the Aſſembly, and to recall his Embaſſadors, who accordingly left *Colen* the 15th of *April*. This was attended with mighty Conſequences, which did not end till the Peace of *Nimeguen*.

Whilſt Matters were in this Situation, Preparations were made to defend the Frontiers of *Flanders* and the Empire. Viſcount *de Turenne* was appointed to command upon the *Rhine*, but with ſo few Troops, that it was evident the Miniſtry

1675. relied wholly on his great Capacity. And indeed, they were ſo firmly perſuaded he could ſucceed in all Things, that he often was rendered incapable of performing almoſt any Thing; and could never have executed them, had he not found within himſelf, certain Reſſources ſuperiour even to thoſe they knew he poſſeſſed. The Hatred which Marquiſs *de Louvois* bore that General, contributed very much to the ſmall Succours which were given him, to carry on ſo conſiderable a War.

The *Gendarmeries* which had begun the Campaign in *Germany*, were ſent into *Flanders*. Marquiſs *de Beringhen*, Colonel of the Regiment *Dauphin*, was killed at the Siege of *Bezançon*; and Marquiſs *de Villars* owed this Obligation to Viſcount *de Turenne*, that this General ſtill continuing to ſpeak in his Favour, declared publickly, that it would be proper to make him Colonel as ſoon as poſſible, and give him the Regiment in queſtion.

The Army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of *Charleroi*, under the Command of the Prince of *Conde*; and that of the Allies, headed by the Prince of *Orange*, was reinforced by a conſiderable Part of the Emperour's Troops, commanded by General *Souche*, who had engaged the *Turks* at the Head of the ſame Forces,

Forces with Reputation. This General, 1675.
was conſidered as the ableſt Warrior in the Army of the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe ill Succeſs in the Field, was partly owing to his having never fought under Commanders ſkilful enough to improve the happy Diſpoſitions which Nature had given him; being endued with fine Senſe and great Bravery. 'Tis for this Reaſon, that notwithſtanding theſe exalted Qualities, he, perhaps, never atchieved any Conqueſts that might juſtly give him the Title of a General.

The neighbourhood of *Maeſtricht* and *Liege*, was appointed the Rendezvous of the Confederate Army, which conſiſted of above threeſcore thouſand Men; and in that of the King there were, at moſt, but forty thouſand; but they were *Frenchmen*, and headed by the Prince of *Conde*.

This Prince poſted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that ſeeing the Enemy advance, he was able to judge of their Deſigns, and take Advantage of their Motions. The Confederates advanced but ſlowly; and during their Approach, many Parties fought, in ſeveral of which Marquiſs *de Villars* was preſent. There was one among the reſt, where an hundred and twenty of the Enemy's Foot, who had fortified themſelves in a Church-Yard,

1674. were attacked by *la Fitte*, Lieutenant of the Horſe-Guards. The Dragoons were ordered to diſmount, when Marquiſs *de Villars* placing himſelf at their Head, advanced into the Church-Yard; killed, or took Priſoner every one in it, and rejoined the Army the Evening before the Day that that of the Enemy encamped in ſight of the King's Army.

The Prince of *Conde* had marched it into the Plain of *Treſignies*, ſurrounded by the Rivulet called *Pieton*. This Poſt, naturally very advantageous, gave us Opportunity to wait calmly for the Reſolution of the Confederates, whoſe ſtrong Army, which only ſought to engage, imagining they might continue their Marches, without any Danger from our Motions, made one in the view of approaching nearer us; which gave the Prince of *Conde* an Opportunity of attacking their rear-guard, while it was croſſing the Rivulet of *Senef*. This Prince had watched the Enemy ever ſince Day-break, and had ordered the King's Houſhold Troops, the *Gendarmes*, and a few *Battalions* to march. But the Moment he ſaw the laſt Squadrons of the Enemy ſeparated from their main Army, he croſſed the *Pieton*, and marched towards them; Marquiſs

quiſs *de Villars* ſerving as a Volunteer near his Perſon. 1674.

The inſtant all was ready for the Onſet, moſt of the General Officers, obſerving the Enemy in very great Motion, imagined they were flying; but Marquiſs *de Villars* cried aloud, *They are not running away, but only change their Poſition. How do you know that?* ſays the Prince of *Conde*, turning about to him. *Becauſe*, replied Marquiſs *de Villars*, *I obſerve, that at the ſame time that many Squadrons ſeem to retire, ſeveral others advance in the Intervals and move their Right to the Rivulet, perceiving you march towards the Head of it; in order that when you come up with them, they may ſtand in Battle-array.* The Prince of *Conde*, ſaid to him, *Young Man, where did you learn ſo much Experience?* And looking on the Officers round him; *That young Man*, ſays he to them, *has a very quick Eye.* Immediately he commanded *Montal* to fall upon the Village of *Senef* with the Foot, during which he himſelf, with the Life-Guards, marched to the Head of the Rivulet; and found that one Part of the Enemy had lined it; and that the other drew up in order of Battle, to oppoſe ſuch of the King's Forces, as were advancing above the Rivulet.

1675. The Prince of *Conde* ſeeing this, placed himſelf at the Head of the firſt Squadrons, and drew his Sword. Marquis *de Villars* ſtruck with ſo invigorating a Sight, cried aloud, *I never wiſhed ſo earneſtly for any Thing, as to ſee the great* Conde, *Sword in Hand.* The Prince did not ſeem diſpleaſed at theſe Words, and they advanced towards the Enemy.

Marquiſs *de Villars* put himſelf at the Head of the Squadron of *Buſcas*, being part of the Horſe-Guards. He ſpied in this rear-guard of the Enemy, the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and called to him. Immediately the Onſet began; when Marquiſs *de Villars* ruſhing into the Squadron of the Enemy that oppoſed him, received a Wound in his Thigh, which touched the Bone. This rear-guard was ſoon defeated; and the Prince of *Conde*, ſeeing the Action would grow warmer, commanded the whole Army to march. *Montal* took the Village of *Senef*, where four Battalions, which had intrenched themſelves in the Church-Yard, were taken Priſoners, and he himſelf received a ſhot in the Leg. The Prince of *Conde* drew up again thoſe Men who had charged firſt, and Preparations were made to attack *du Fay* Hill, where the Enemy had poſted themſelves, who, on the other Side, recalled the Head

of

of their Army, which was already advanced to the Plains of *Mons*, and the Battle ſeemed now going to be general. 1675.

All things being prepared for attacking *du Fay* Hill, *Fourille*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, and General of the Horſe, put himſelf at the Head of the firſt Squadrons of the Life-Guards. Marquiſs *de Villars*, after his Wound was dreſſed, and his Thigh bound up, marched a breaſt with *Fourille*.

The Hedges on each ſide of the Hill were lined with five Battalions, which, without firing, permitted the two firſt Squadrons, which were obliged to file off at the foot of the Hill, to draw up in order of Battle. However, ſcarce were they drawn up, and come within Piſtol-ſhot of the Enemy, but theſe poured in ſo briſk a Fire, as quite over-powered the Squadrons. *Fourille* was mortally wounded; and ſcarce one Man or Horſe, in theſe Squadrons came off unhurt. Marquiſs *de Villars* Horſe was ſhot in ſeveral places. But the Enemy ſeeing us prepare for a ſecond Attack, retired, with their main Army, to the Village of *du Fay*. Their whole Army ranged themſelves to the Right and Left of the Village, and drew up behind it in Battle-array. 'Twas now three Hours ſince Marquiſs *de Villars* had

1674. been wounded; and, ſo briſk was the Action, that he had at firſt felt little pain, but it grew afterwards ſo violent, that he fainted away. However, after only drinking a Glaſs of Brandy, he followed the Prince of *Conde*, (whoſe Horſe had been killed under him at the firſt Onſet) wherever he rode. Marquiſs *de Rochefort* had been wounded in the Action.

Hitherto the King's Forces had come off with conſiderable Advantage. The Prince of *Conde*, who was ſo battered, that he ſeemed animated only by his Courage, reſolved to purſue an Action ſo happily begun, and attack the Village *du Fay*. To do this, 'twas neceſſary for the Army to ſpread over a greater Compaſs of Ground; and poſſibly, the confederate Forces, notwithſtanding their Superiority with regard to Numbers, would have been beat, had they ſtaid till all thoſe of his Majeſty had come up. But, the Security which a firſt Succeſs gives; an Unwillingneſs to allow the Enemy time to recover themſelves; and perhaps, alſo, the natural Impetuoſity of the Leader, whom, the Difficulties he met with might exaſperate; all theſe Circumſtances prevailed. They proceeded ſpeedily to the Attacks; but theſe, tho' carried on with great Vigour in ſome Places, were not

very ſucceſsful. No deciſive Advantage 1674.
was gained; and tho' the Battle laſted till Evening, yet the King's Army did not gain much Ground. Marquiſs *de Villars* being no longer able to ſit his Horſe, diſmounted at eleven at Night; a little after which a great Diſcharge was heard, and the Enemy retired. The King's Army, a conſiderable Part of which had been cut to pieces, did the ſame at Day-break. A great Number of ſubaltern, as well as chief Officers, fell in this Engagement. Marquiſs *d' Aſſentar*, General of the *Spaniſh* Horſe, was found among the ſlain. The Prince of *Orange*, Marquiſs *de Monterey* Governour of the *Low-Countries*, and *Souche* the Emperour's General, drew the Confederate Army into the Plains of *Mons*. The Prince of *Conde* returned to his Camp at *Pieton*; and whilſt the Enemy ſought for ſome new Enterprize, the Prince of *Conde* endeavoured to defeat their Deſigns.

This Prince, in his Diſpatches to the Court; and *Fourille*, in a Letter he writ to the King as he was dying, made very great Encomiums on Marquiſs *de Villars*, to whom his Majeſty gave the Regiment of Horſe belonging to *Courcelles*, ſlain in the laſt Engagement.

The two Armies lay ſtill for very near Fortnight, after which that of the Allies

1675. lies marched and inveſted *Oudenard*, and that of his Majeſty advanced, in order to raiſe the Siege.

The Prince of *Conde* came within Cannon-ſhot of the Enemy, and perceiving they had not poſſeſſed themſelves of an Eminence of very great Importance, he himſelf went and ſeized it. The Day after, the Enemy raiſed their Quarters, and General *Souche*, having poſted thoſe of the Emperour to Advantage; as the Prince of *Conde* had raiſed a Siege, he did not think proper to hazard a Battle.

Thus ended the Campaign of 1674, during which Viſcount *de Turenne* carried on the War of *Germany* with great Glory. By the happy Succeſs of the Battle of *Zintzheim*, and a Conduct equally prudent and intrepid, he gave upwards of threeſcore thouſand Men, who had ſettled in *Alſatia*, an Opportunity of croſſing the *Rhine*. 'Tis certain, that the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the old Duke of *Lorrain*, and all the Princes and Generals who commanded that Army, committed very great Overſights. The King was not poſſeſſed of a ſingle Strong-hold in *Alſatia*; and Viſcount *de Turenne*, who had been forced to abandon it to the Enemy, had no other way to enter it than by *Befort*, a ſmall Caſtle, unfortified at that Time, but

but afterwards put in a State of Defence 1675.
by his Majeſty's Order.

The Enemy were Maſters of *Straſburg*; and their Army, which might ſettle and take their Winter-Quarters on this Side of the *Rhine*, would thereby have made the King loſe *Briſac* and *Philipſburg*, had they either been commanded by abler Generals, or Viſcount *de Turenne* had not taken proper Advantage of their Errors. About the cloſe of this Year, the Chevalier *de Rohan* was beheaded before the Baſtile. He had promiſed the *Dutch* to deliver up into their Hands *Quillebeuf*, and to raiſe an Inſurrection in *Normandy*. *La Truaumont* was at the Head of the Conſpiracy; and it was on theſe two Men the Enemy grounded the Succeſs of their naval Armament. The one was a younger Brother of one of the greateſt and moſt ancient Families in the Kingdom; the other, a * Gentleman of *Normandy*, a *Veteran* Officer, very brave, and as remarkable for his good Senſe, as the other for the want of it. Diſſoluteneſs had united, and Poverty had engaged them in this wicked Project. The King being informed of it, gave orders for the ſeizing of

* To be a *Gentilhomme*, or *Gentleman* by Birth, in *France*, is very honourable.

La

1674. *La Truaumont*; but he was killed in defending himſelf againſt *Briſſac*, a Major of the Horſe-Guards, who had indiſcreetly commanded his Men to fire upon him.

The Chevalier *de Rohan* was arreſted at the ſame Time. There was not one Proof; not ſo much as a ſingle Witneſs, nor any Paper ſigned by him, ſo that the Commiſſioners did not know what Courſe to take, when one of them, who was examining the Chevalier *de Rohan*, hinted, as tho' 'twould be better for him to ſubmit himſelf to the King's Mercy, than to perſiſt in the Denial of a Fact, of which (he ſaid) there were a thouſand Proofs. The Chevalier was prevailed upon by this Counſel, and diſcovered more particulars againſt himſelf than ſufficed to condemn him; not obſerving that *Pommereux* repeated to him ſeveral times, *the late La Truaumont.*

The King would have been inclined to Pardon him; and the very Night before his Execution, the Duke *de Crequi* had cauſed the Tragedy of *Cinna* to be performed; firmly perſuaded, that the example of *Auguſtus*'s Clemency would move his Majeſty to Compaſſion.

1675. The Campaign of 1675, opened with the taking of *Limburg*, after which the King marched back the Army, and left

it under the Command of the Prince of *Conde*, in the Plains of *Ath*, where he was encamped, when Advice was brought of the Death of Viſcount *de Turenne*; the Return of his Majeſty's Army on this Side the *Rhine*, after a Mighty Engagement, and the March of the Emperor's Forces into *Alſatia*. 1675.

This unhappy Conjuncture obliged the King to ſend the Prince of *Conde* into *Germany*, with a Body of Troops detached from the Army in *Flanders*, which continued under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who was created a Marſhal of *France*, together with Meſſieurs *de Navailles*, *de Duras*, *de Rochefort*, *de Schomberg*, and *la Feuillade*.

Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, doing whatever lay in his Power to avoid coming to a general Battle, and at the ſame time, to check the Enterprizes of the Enemy; kept as near as poſſible to the Prince of *Orange*, and for ever poſted himſelf to ſo much Advantage, that he always covered the Strong-holds belonging to the King, without running any hazard. Several Parties engaged, and Marquiſs *de Villars* was commanded to march with four hundred Horſe, againſt the Enemy; to fall upon their Foragers, and carry off thoſe who guarded them; in a Word, to make whatever

1675. whatever Attempts he ſhould think proper.

Accordingly he ſelected his Captains, when being followed by a great Number of Volunteer-Officers, he fell directly in with a Party of the Enemy's Horſe, which being charged, was immediately defeated. Some of them were either killed or taken Priſoners; but the greateſt Part got off under the covert of the Night. Marquiſs *de Villars* advanced towards the oppoſite Army, which was encamped at the Abbey of *Waure*, and covered by Woods; and coming very near to their Guards, found they might be eaſily carried off. He prepared to attack them, when he perceived a very large Body of the Enemy's Horſe marching to the Left, and advancing towards *Genap*, (a Rivulet) to cut off his Retreat. He did not doubt but that the Party he met and beat the Night before, had given Advice of his March; ſo that inſtead of marching to the *French* Army, he advanced with great Diligence thro' Woods towards *Nivelles*. After riding two Leagues, finding no purſuit made, he halted; and vexed at his miſſing thoſe Guards, imagined, that as the Enemy had frighted away a Party, the Head of their Camp would be more undiſturbed; ſo that after taking Refreſhment, he returned

turned thro' the ſame Woods; advanced towards the ſame Guards he had ſeen in the Morning, and found them in very near the ſame Order; except that thoſe who had Standards, were drawn a little nearer to the Camp. He now drew up his Troops in order to Attack them; and put himſelf ſingly at the Head of the Firſt, behind which he poſted thirty Volunteer-Officers, or Troopers who were beſt mounted; with Orders, that the inſtant a Piſtol ſhould be fired, to charge the firſt Line of the Enemy; to carry off as many Standards as was poſſible, and to take or kill as many as they ſhould meet along the Line for two hundred Paces; and to gallop very faſt back to the Head of the Wood, where was the Outlet. As for himſelf, marching at the Head of the Troops, he rode directly towards the Videt, or Horſe-Sentry of the Enemy, who challenging, he anſwered *Spain*, and that they were a *Dutch* Party returned from the Campaign. 1675.

He now advanced unmoleſted; and not drawing his Piſtol till he was come almoſt cloſe to the Videt, he carried off, with no manner of Difficulty, the Guards of Horſe. The Volunteers obeyed their Orders punctually; and either killed, or took ſome Captains of Horſe who were

riding,

1675. riding by the Camp-ſide. This Expedition being performed, Marquiſs *de Villars* returned into the Wood; and ſeeing all the Enemy's Left Wing mount, he rode with the utmoſt Diligence towards the Rivulet *Genap*, croſſed it, and then drew up his Men. A Moment after the Head of the Enemy's Horſe appeared on the Bank of the Rivulet; but Marquiſs *de Villars* ſuppoſing very juſtly, that being obliged to follow in File, they would not dare to croſs that Rivulet before him, the *French* Army being within half a League of it; he therefore continued in Battle-array, and afterwards carried off his Priſoners unmoleſted.

Being returned to the Army, and going to give Marſhal *de Luxemburg* an account of his Succeſs, he found that the Diſpatches of that General were already drawn up; but he was reſolved to ſend the Particulars of it to the King, in his own Hand-writing. His Majeſty was ſo gracious, at his Levee, as to give it his Father, the Marquiſs, to read.

The *French* Army in *Flanders* ſtood merely upon the Defenſive all the reſt of this Campaign, and only a few Parties engaged, the moſt conſiderable of which was that of Marquiſs *de Villars* above related. The Command of a Troop in his Regiment

Regiment being vacant, he gave it to 1675.
Abbé Fleury's Brother, who, from his younger Years, had been very much attached to the *Villars* Family.

In *Germany*, Viſcount *de Turenne*'s Death gave the Enemy a Superiority over us. We before obſerved, that our Army was obliged to repaſs the *Rhine*, after a bloody Fight, in which Marquiſs *de Vaubrun*, one of our Lieutenant-Generals, loſt his Life. The difficulties which had riſen, with regard to the Command between Count *de Lorge*, and this Nobleman, put a ſtop to the Cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the general Officers, of rolling without regard to Seniority; for the King declared, that the oldeſt Officer ſhould always Command, which certainly is of greater Advantage to the Service.

Montecuculli having *Straſburg* at his Devotion, croſſed the *Rhine*; and Marſhal *de Duras*, who commanded the Army after the Death of Viſcount *de Turenne*, entrenched himſelf between *Scheleſtat* and *Chaſtenois*, a Poſt ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that *Montecuculli* did not dare to attack him in it.

At the ſame Time, an Army commanded by the Duke of *Zell*, and ſome of the Imperial Generals, beſieged *Triers*, a large City, but ſo poorly fortified that it

1675. it could not make a long Reſiſtance. 'Twas commanded by *Vignory*, who loſt his Life in the Night by a Fall.

Marſhal *de Crequi* had got together an Army of twelve or fifteen thouſand Men. A Thirſt of Glory determined him to attempt the Succour of that City, tho' with a Force greatly inferiour to that of the Enemy. Accordingly, he drew near the *Saare*, without however reſolving to croſs that River; but only to be at hand in order to take Advantage, either of any ill Diſpoſition of the Enemy, or of the Overſights they might commit in their Approaches towards him. However, they croſſed it with ſuch Diligence, that the Marſhal had time only to draw up his Soldiers in order of Battle. He was attacked and beat; partly thro' the fault of his Generals, who did not go quick enough to their Poſts, to defend the Paſſage of the *Saare:* however, the Enemy loſt a conſiderable Number of Men.

Thus unfortunate, he acted the moſt glorious Part he could have done. Knowing that the Governour of *Triers* was dead, he threw himſelf into the City; reanimated the Garriſon, and ſuſtained the Siege ſeveral Days, with great Bravery. He even flattered himſelf, that by the Vigour

vigour and Reſolution of the Garriſon, 1675.
or by the great Loſs the Enemy had ſuſtained, either in the Battle, or in various Attacks, (made very bloody by his Courage) of the Place; that there would be a Poſſibility of ſaving it: But the Garriſon fancying he deſigned to ſacrifice them to his Reſentment; and inflamed by the ſeditious Diſcourſes of one *Beaujourdan*, a Captain; delivered up the Breach, and the General to the Enemy, ſo that all were made Priſoners of War. However, that Officer paid dear for his infamous Cowardice, he being executed ſix Weeks after. Thus this Campaign was unfortunate on the *Moſelle*, as well as in *Germany*, by the taking of *Hagenaw*, and the Blockade of *Philipſburg*; but ſtill more fatal by the Death of Marſhal *de Turenne*, who, by his ſuperiour Genius, Reſolution, and rare Talents for War, had not only defended our Frontiers, but carried the *French* Arms far within the Empire; and that with an inconſiderable Body of Troops, and unprovided of every thing; occaſioned in ſome little meaſure by the ill-will which Mr. *de Louvois*, his open Enemy, bore him, who would not pardon that General for his Uſage to him the Winter before he died.

We

1675. We will reſume this piece of Hiſtory, by relating ſome Court-tranſactions during the Winter, from 1674 to 1675. We have ſeen, that Viſcount *de Turenne* had ſet out upon his march, in order to fight *Montecuculli* in the Plains of *Francouia*, after ſending Advice ſeveral times to Court, that it would be impoſſible for him to cover the Upper and Lower *Rhine*, at the ſame Time. The Plans he tranſmitted to Court were noble and judicious; but inſtead of being followed there, he received ſuch Orders from it, as ſuited very ill both the Service of the King, and the Merit of ſo great a General. The Miniſter, who had declared openly againſt him, raiſed him Enemies even in the very Army. One of the firſt Lieutenant-Generals was ſo bold, as to reproach, publickly, this great Man, with Errors he was not capable of committing; but Viſcount *de Turenne* gave him a more prudent Anſwer than, perhaps, another in his Place would have done; *Write, Sir, to Court: your Arguments, tho' very poor ones, will not fail of being heard.* 'Tis pretended, that Marſhal *de Turenne* being returned to *Verſailles*, agreed with the Prince of *Conde* to ruin a Secretary at War, who had very little regard for either of them. 'Twas thought that

that the Prince of *Conde* promiſed to ſe- 1675.
cond Viſcount *de Turenne*, but that the Biſhop of *Antun*, a Creature of *Louvois* and *Tellier* his Father, won back the Prince, over whom he had a great Aſcendant; by declaring to him, that after Marſhal *de Turenne* ſhould be removed by two very able and powerful Miniſters, he (the Prince of *Conde*) would poſſeſs the Command ſingly; and that as thoſe two Noblemen ſhould thereby owe their preſervation to him, they would be eternally at his Devotion.

'Tis very certain that Viſcount *de Turenne*, continued in his Reſolution and juſt Reſentment; ſo that at his return from the Campaign, he ſhewed his Majeſty the Errors which Mr. *de Louvois* had committed, and the injudicious Orders he had received from him. He owned, that this Miniſter was, indeed, a Man of fine Senſe, and had great Skill in the general Detail of an Army; but aſſerted, that he was abſolutely wanting in the Knowledge and Experience neceſſary for ſucceeding in military Affairs; and that he had never met with an opportunity to acquire them. The King liſtned with his uſual Penetration, to the ſolid Reaſons of Viſcount *de Turenne*; and had he been ſeconded by the Prince of *Conde*, *Louvois* had been in danger,

1675. danger. But the latter not acting with equal Vigour, certain Faults did not appear capital ones, and the King was very well pleaſed not to find them ſuch.

Louvois was only ordered to aſk Marſhal *de Turenne*'s Pardon. This General gave him ſuch a Reception as ſuited his Dignity, and the Nature of the Offence. He reproached him for his Conduct with reſpect to the War; and ſaid, that as to his Friendſhip, when he ſhould do as many Things to deſerve it, as he had done to loſe it, he then would conſider what was to be done. Thus ended this Court-Scene. *Louvois* continued in his Credit, and in his Deſign of prejudicing Viſcount *de Turenne*; a Deſign he purſued ſo induſtriouſly, that the Campaign which bereaved us of this great Man, might have brought other Misfortunes upon us, had not the advanced Age of *Montecuculli*, and his over-great Caution, prompted him to reſt ſatisfied with ſmall Advantages, after the Death of Marſhal *de Turenne*.

1676. Before we mention the Tranſactions relating to the Land-Armies, it will be proper to take ſome little notice of two famous naval Expeditions, made in the Beginning of this Year.

The *Spaniards*, deſirous of freeing *Meſſina*, and ſaving *Sicily*, had ſollicited the States-

States-General to ſend them a Fleet under 1676.
Admiral *Ruyter*, to oblige the *French* to
raiſe the Blockade of that City then beſieging. Accordingly, the States ſent them a Fleet of thirty Sail; and *Ruyter*, who commanded it, came and caſt Anchor about the end of *December* 1675, in the Road of *Melazzo* oppoſite to *Meſſina*. A Fortnight after he went in queſt of the *French*, and engaged them *Jan.* 8. between the Iſlands of *Salines* and *Stromboli*, from ten in the Morning till Night.

The *French* Fleet was commanded by *du Queſne*, an Officer of as great Experience and Bravery as *Ruyter*. *Du Queſne* having got the Wind, bore down upon the *Dutch* with ſo much Violence, that *de Ruyter* confeſſed he had never in his Life ſeen ſo furious an Engagement. They cannonaded one another, boarded, and fought Man againſt Man with the utmoſt Courage. Marquiſs *de Preuilly*, who commanded the *French* Van-guard, drove back that of the *Dutch*. The main Battle, where *Du Queſne* was, made *Ruyter* give way; and the *Dutch* Rear-guard, encountred that of the *French*, with *Gabaret* at their Head. But notwithſtanding the great Vigour with which the *Dutch* ply'd the Tackling, they yet would have been defeated by the *French*, had not a Calm enſued.

1676. Three Months after, a ſecond Engagement was fought, to the North-Eaſt of Mount *Gibel*, between *du Queſne* and *Ruyter*. The latter, who beſieged *Agoſta* by Sea, hearing that the *French* Fleet was in ſearch of him, immediately ſailed out to meet it. The Engagement began about four in the Afternoon. After fighting for half an hour, a Cannon-Ball ſtruck *Ruyter*; carried off half his left Foot, and ſhattered his right Leg. In the mean Time, the Orders of his firſt Captain were ſo well obeyed, that no one perceived the Misfortune which had befallen the Admiral, who, tho' mortally wounded, did nevertheleſs give out Orders in his Bed, from the Advices which were brought him. Thus the Battle continued the whole Day with the ſame Heat, Victory not declaring for either Side; but at laſt, the *Dutch* gave way; and the *French* being ſatisfied with raiſing the Siege of *Agoſta*, the Fleet withdrew to *Syracuſa*, where the *Dutch* conveyed their Admiral, who died of his Wounds.

But now the *Dutch*, not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Syracuſa*, ſailed for *Palermo*. They were chaſed by the Duke *de Vivonne*, who was on board the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of Twenty-eight Men of War and Twenty-five Gallies. An Engagement was

was fought the 3d of *June*, when Mar- 1676.
quiſs *de Preuilly* advanced towards the *Dutch*, whoſe Fire he ſuſtained, without letting off a Gun. Being come within Cannon-ſhot of them, he let fly a Broad-Side, and at the ſame Time brought forward his Fire-Ships, which the Van-guard of the Enemy could not ſhun, except by cutting their Cables, and running a-Ground on the neareſt Coaſts; leaving nevertheleſs three *Spaniſh* Ships which were burnt. Immediately the reſt of the *French* Ships attacked the Rear-guard and the main Body, and were received with great Bravery. But the *Spaniſh* Admiral, with ſome Gallies, and three *Dutch* Ships, having taken Fire, the *Dutch* Rear-Admiral and his Captains cut all their Cables and fled. Part of the remains of the *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* Fleets were ſtranded under *Palermo*, and the reſt ſailed into Port, after the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral, and the *Dutch* Rear-Admiral had blown up.

This was one of the moſt fatal Engagements the Enemy met with at Sea, and the moſt glorious for *France*, whoſe Navy increaſed every Day in ſtrength. The Campaign of 1676, began with the Siege of *Conde*, which his Majeſty formed in Perſon; and Marquiſs *de Villars* continued to ſerve as uſual, that is, to engage (at Sieges) in

1676. Actions which belonged to the Foot, tho' he himſelf was a Colonel of Horſe. The King was pleaſed to ſpeak to the Marquiſs on this occaſion, in the moſt obliging Terms. His Majeſty afterwards cauſed the Duke of *Orleans* to beſiege *Bouchain*, he himſelf heading the Army of Obſervation, to ſecure the Enterprize.

The Prince of *Orange* having advanced to the Succour of *Bouchain*, croſſed the *Scheld* at *Valenciennes*, and ſeemed determined to attack the King's Army, drawn up in Battle-array behind a Farm called *Urtebiſe*. His Majeſty gave Marſhal *de Villars* the Command of a Reſerve of Horſe between the two Lines of Foot. A Propoſal was made to attack the Prince of *Orange*, and this the King deſired, but ſubmitting it to Marſhal *de Schomberg*, this General, at the Inſtigation of certain Miniſters of State and Courtiers, replied, when his Opinion was aſked, *That at a Siege, the Glory conſiſted wholly in ſecuring the Succeſs of it.* By this artful and politic Prudence he ſaved the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Army was ſo ill poſted, and ſo greatly ſtraitned, that it would have been infallibly defeated, at leaſt expoſed to the greateſt Danger, had it been attacked by the *French*. *Bouchain* was taken, and the Prince of *Orange* marching

his

his Army under *Mons*, meditated the Siege of *Maeſtricht*. His Majeſty, at his return to *Verſailles*, gave Orders to prepare for the Siege of *Aire (Arien,)* which his Army inveſted under the Command of Marſhal *d' Humieres*, Marſhal *de Schomberg* heading the Army of Obſervation. 1676.

Mr. *de Louvois*, deſirous to be preſent at this Siege, came into *Flanders* for that purpoſe. All the Authority was properly lodged in him, ſince, interpreting the King's Will and Commands at Pleaſure, he regulated the Diſpoſitions and Marches of the Armies, writing often to the Generals, *His Majeſty's Will is, that his Army, Commanded by* ſuch a one, *make* ſuch *a March.* Having a greater Authority over the Artillery, than even the General of the Ordnance, all his orders relating to it were very punctually obeyed.

Marquiſs *de Villars* had the Command of a Brigade, compoſed of eleven Squadrons of the Army that formed the Siege, which was ended much ſooner than had been expected, by the ready Supply of Artillery, of which *du Metz* was General. Fortune itſelf favoured the Beſiegers; for a Bomb happening to fall into a Magazine of Powder, had ſo violent an Effect, that a Baſtion was quite opened, and the Governour capitulated.

1676. Whilſt this was doing, the Attempt of the Prince of *Orange* upon *Maeſtricht*, ſpun out to a great length. This Slowneſs engaged us inſenſibly, tho' not to ſuccour that Place, at leaſt to approach it, by aſſembling, in the mean time, ſo many Forces as might ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy. The order which Marſhal *d' Humieres*, after the taking of *Aire*, had received, to poſſeſs himſelf of Fort *Linck*, which could eaſily hold out ten or twelve Days, ſhowed very evidently the little Care taken to preſerve *Maeſtricht*, tho' ſo conſiderable a Place; but the reaſon of this Indifference was, the urgent Neceſſity of ſuccouring *Philipſburg*, a Place of much greater conſequence to us, the Loſs of which would put it out of our Power, not only to ſupport any of the States of ſuch Princes of the Empire, as were in the Intereſt of *France*, and thereby give the Emperour an Opportunity of uniting them to his own; but deprived us of the Succour of the Elector of *Bavaria*, who having ſtood neuter, kept a ſtanding Army of twelve or fifteen thouſand Men in the *French* Pay.

After Marquiſs *de Rochefort* had in vain endeavoured to throw Succours into that Place, which had been blocked up ever ſince Winter; Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, at

the Head of a powerful Army, had expreſs Orders to uſe his utmoſt Efforts to ſuccour it. In this general Deſign he made his Approaches, but found it would be impoſſible to ſucceed; and his Majeſty being determined not to loſe *Maeſtricht*, which *Calvau* ſtill defended with the greateſt Bravery; he at laſt commanded M. *Schomberg* to march directly to the Army of the Prince of *Orange*, who had already loſt a great Number of Men, in the attempting to attack ſeveral detached-baſtions (a new Method of Fortification invented by *Vauban*, and of great ſervice to ſuch Strong-holds as are ſpacious enough to hold a large Garriſon.) In the laſt ſtorming of a well-lined Baſtion lled *Dauphin*, placed behind a covertay, which coſt the Prince of *Orange* ſo any Men, the *Rhingrave* had been morlly wounded. 1676.

The King's Army was encamped at *meſ*, and Count *de Montal*, an old Lieunant-General, was detached with four ıouſand Horſe, to reconnoitre the Moons of the Enemy, at the approach of ır Army. Marquiſs *de Villeroy* who was terwards Marſhal of *France*, went on at Expedition in quality of Camp-Marſhal; and Marquiſs *de Villars* had the Command of a thouſand Horſe.

1676. We were ſcarce arrived within ſight of the Enemy's Tents, when a Trumpet was ſeen coming from the Prince of *Orange*, to deſire a Paſport for the *Rhingrave*, who was mortally wounded, by which it was ſuppoſed that the Prince did not intend to wait our coming up; for had he not reſolved to march, he would have no occaſion for a Paſport.

Montal's Detachment being arrived pretty near the Enemy's Army, word was ſent to Marſhal *de Schomberg*, to deſire the Army might come forward, and they ſtill advanced in the Plain, along the great Cauſeway. Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Vigour, and his ſtrong Deſire to be one of the firſt who ſhould know the Diſpoſitions of the Enemy, (in order to ſee whether any thing was to be done,) prompted him to advance from eminence to eminence, with eight or ten Officers very well mounted; and perceiving that the Motions of the Enemy ſeemed to denote a Retreat, he came back to Count *de Montal*, who again ſent to Marſhal *de Schomberg*, in order that he might haſten the March. But that General, who doubtleſs had his Reaſons for acting as he did, and perhaps expreſs Orders only to reinforce but not fight, did not come up till Evening, when their Retreat was no longer doubted.

doubted. Very early next Morning, as we were got near enough their Rear-guard to engage, Count *d' Auvergne*, Colonel-General of the Horſe, preſſed the Marſhal to fight. Marquiſs *de Villars*, approaching ſeveral of the Enemy's Squadrons, received a Piſtol-ſhot in his Hat; and ſeeing ſome Diſorder in their Diſpoſitions, went to Marſhal *de Schomberg*, and repreſented to him in a very reſpectful, and at the ſame time judicious manner, that they might be attacked with Advantage. This General who had no ſuch Deſign, could not forbear, notwithſtanding the Friendſhip he had for the Marquiſs, to anſwer with a certain Anger, which good Reaſons generally raiſe, when a Perſon is reſolved not to follow them. Marquiſs *de Villars* not prevailing to have all the Rear-guard attacked, he at leaſt was deſirous of charging the laſt of the Enemy's Troops; and accordingly, advancing forward, his Horſe was killed under him. He then returned to Marſhal *de Schomberg*, who called to him, and ſaid with an Air of Friendſhip; *When ſuch a Stronghold as* Maeſtricht *is ſuccoured without coming to a Battle, the General ought to reſt ſatisfied; and to content a young Colonel who is eager to engage, he muſt give him a Party*

1676.

1676. *of five hundred Horſe. Get theſe a Commander; chuſe ſuch Officers as you think proper; and then, following the Enemy's Army three or four Days, you'll ſee what will become of it, and what you will be able to do without expoſing yourſelf.*

Marquiſs *de Villars* obeyed theſe Orders, and next Day Evening, meeting, within half a League of the Enemy's Army, a ſmall Convoy eſcorting a Party of Foragers, he attacked them, and brought off near one hundred and fifty Priſoners to Marſhal *de Schomberg*'s Army, which he met upon its March.

He gave an account of his Succeſs to the Marſhal, who, forgetting the earneſtneſs with which the Marquiſs, the Night before, had preſſed him to venture a Battle, ſaid to him; *We ſhould have fallen out had I not given you a Detachment to follow your Friends, whom you never can loſe Sight of.*

Marquiſs *de Villars* had not taken a wink of Sleep for five or ſix Nights, when being oppreſſed with Sleep and Wearineſs, he laid down on the Back of a Ditch, with Orders for his Men to wake him when the Rear-guard ſhould march by. As he was ſleeping, very heavy Rains fell, ſo that the Ditch over which he lay was

was filled with Water. His Man, being as ſleepy as himſelf, did not wake him till he had lain a quarter of an Hour in Water. He then mounted his Horſe, quite benumb'd with Cold; and that very Night was ſeized with ſo violent a Dyſentery, that he was carried, very dangerouſly ſick, to *Charleroi*. However, his Youth and happy Conſtitution ſaved his Life. 1676.

He was ſcarce recovered, when his Regiment was commanded to go and join Marſhal *de Crequi*. This General was aſſembling an Army upon the *Saare*, in order to raiſe the Siege of *Deuxponts*, a ſmall City, poorly fortified, and beſieged by the Duke of *Zell*, who drew off his Forces upon the Arrival of thoſe of his Majeſty. Thus ended the Campaign in *Flanders*, very glorious to *France*, by the taking of *Conde*, *Bouchain*, *Aire*, and the Succour of *Maeſtricht*; but it was far from being ſo happy in *Germany*, where we loſt *Philipſburg*. Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Regiment was ſent into Garriſon at *Calais*.

The Campaign of 1677 was particularly remarkable by the Importance of the Conqueſts. The King made Preparations to attack the three greateſt and moſt conſiderable Strong-holds in the *Low-Countries*, *viz.* *Valenciennes*, *Cambrai*, 1677.

1677. *brai*, and St. *Omer*'s, the taking of any o which would have made a Campaign ſuf ficiently glorious.

All the Troops began their March ſ early as the latter end of *February*. Mr *de Louvois*, ever eminent for his Regu larity, Foreſight, and Contrivance, wa ſo very active, that Proviſions, Forage and all Things neceſſary were foun in abundance. His Majeſty began wit *Valenciennes*, and at the ſame time com manded Marſhal *de Luxemburg* to inve St. *Omers*. Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Regimen marched from *Calais* the 26th of *February* and ſeized upon the Abbey of *Watt* They ſhut up this Place which had bu an indifferent Garriſon. The old Princ *de Robec*, of the Houſe of *Montmorenc* was Governour of it.

Fortune favoured the King in the Sieg of *Valenciennes*, which was certainly at tacked in the ſtrongeſt Part; but th Difficulty of the Roads, during a very ſe vere Seaſon, had obliged them to make uſe, at St. *Amand*, of the Cauſeway of *Valen ciennes*, conſequently to make the Maga zines; for the Siege on that Side towards St. *Amand*, and to begin by the Crown work. The *Scheld* was as a Ditch to the Place, and the Enemy could drown it by opening

opening their Sluices; but the inſtant the 1677
Crown-work had been attacked and carried, the Soldiers who defended it were in the utmoſt Conſternation; and thoſe of the King were fired with ſo much Vigour, that they purſued them with the utmoſt Diligence, and entered Pell-mell with them into the *Paté*; and thence, by a Poſtern which happened to be open, our foremoſt Granadiers appeared on the Baſtion. The Enemy were in ſuch Terror, that twelve hundred Horſe drawn up in the Squares of the City, did not once dare to mount the Ramparts, to repulſe a Party of Men who advanced only one by one thro' a very narrow Paſſage. We reſtrained our Troops on the Remparts; the Smallneſs of their Number making them prudent in the Beginning. The City was not plundred, and all were made Priſoners of War. After this ſignal Succeſs, the King ſent the Duke of *Orleans*, with Marſhal *d' Humiers*, and a Reinforcement ſufficient to beſiege St. *Omers*. The Quarters, were now contracted; Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, having, till then, diſpoſed them in ſuch a Manner, as only to prevent the Enemy from throwing Succours into the Place.

Two

1677. Two Attacks were made, one of which being ſuppoſed a feint Attack, was by the Fort *des Vaches*, a low and very marſhy Soil; and the other in the higher Lands.

The very firſt Day the Enemy made a Sally on the Attack of Fort *des Vaches*, Marquiſs *de Villars*, who ſeemed born to ſhare in all Engagements, had his Quarters on that Side, and was walking on the Side of the Attack. The Moment he ſaw the Enemy, he flew to it, with all ſuch Officers of his Regiment as were near him, and drove them back into the covert-way. Marquiſs *de Languetot*, a Captain of his Regiment, was wounded on this occaſion.

In the mean Time, the Prince of *Orange* prepared to relieve St. *Omers*, and aſſembled all his Forces behind *Ypres*.

He marched his Army, and encamped below *Mont-Caſſell*. The Duke of *Orleans* made no difficulty to raiſe his Quarters; and leaving the Command of the Trench to Marquiſs *de la Trouſſe*, marched towards the Prince of *Orange*'s Army, before which the Rivulet of the Abbey *de Piennes* run. The Enemy croſſed it in ſeveral Places, and a vigorous Battle was fought in the Center, by the Infantry, where a great

a great Part of the King's Regiment of Guards fell. Upon this, Marſhal *d' Humiers* puſhed the Enemy's Left, during which Marſhal *de Luxemburg* attacked the Abbey *de Piennes*. He had given Marquiſs *de Villars* a Reſerve of five Squadrons, which were to the Left of all the reſt, and conſequently extended beyond the Enemy's Right. 1677

Marquiſs *de Villars* repaired a Bridge which lay croſs the Rivulet *de Piennes*, and began to paſs it, in order to charge in Flank the Right of the Enemy, who were fighting in Front, when *Chamlay* came in the Duke of *Orleans*'s Name, and ordered him to march into the Centre, where the Troops had loſt ſome Ground. *If there be a Diſorder in the Centre*, replied Marquiſs *de Villars*, *I ſhall come too late to remedy it; but I perceive the Enemy's Right beginning to give Ground, and I believe we had better quite rout that Wing. If the Battle is in danger in the Place you mentioned, we ſhall infallibly have the Advantage on this Side; ſo I'll march.*

Chamlay ſeeing Marquiſs *de Villars* perſiſt in his firſt Deſign, went and ſpoke to Mr. *de Soubize*, who commanded the Left of the Horſe, and came with a Deſign to keep the Marquiſs from going over the Bridge.

1677. Bridge. However, the Marquiſs finding he was nevertheleſs in the Right, told him, that had it been any other Aid de Camp than *Chamlay*, he would not have obeyed his Orders, but that he was ſenſible the King repoſed a peculiar Confidence in him. Accordingly, Marquiſs *de Villars* obeyed; and ſome time after, Marſhal *de Luxemburg* having won the Abbey *de Piennes*, and ſeeing the Enemy's Right retire without loſs, he ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*; *I wiſh* Chamlay's *Horſe's Legs had been broke, when he carried this confounded Order.* 'Tis certain, that the oppoſite Army might have been entirely defeated, but they only loſt the Field of Battle and their Artillery; and were able, ſix Weeks after, to keep the Field. However, this Victory ſecured the Siege of St. *Omers*. Marquiſs *de Villars* being in the Trench when a Parly was beat, was ſent into the Place to agree upon the Capitulation. The Prince *de Robec* ſubmitted to any Conditions that were offered, and only deſired to be allowed two pieces of Ca[illegible]. The Duke would not agree to inſert it as a Condition; however, he afterwards allowed them, at the Requeſt of Marquiſs *de Villars*, when he gave an account of the Capitulation.

Cambray

Cambray made but very little Reſiſtance, and was taken. In this manner, *Valenciennes*, St. *Omers*, and *Cambray*, were ſubjected to the King before the End of May. 1677.

After ſome Weeks Refreſhment, neceſſary for Forces who had paſſed moſt of the Winter in the Field, Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Regiment was detached on the *Maes*, where Marſhal *de Schomberg* lay with an inconſiderable Army, in order to reinforce the Army in *Flanders*, or that in *Germany*, according to the Enemy's Motions.

The Duke of *Lorrain* who commanded the Armies of the Emperour and the Empire, came immediately to the *Maes* with a very conſiderable Body of Troops, and drew Marſhal *de Crequi* thither, with all the Forces under his Command. He ſought to come to Action, and the Marſhal avoided this, no otherwiſe than by ſeizing upon the moſt advantagious Poſts, and by keeping always on the ſame Side of the *Meuſe* with the Enemy. At laſt, the two Armies came in ſight, near the Abbey of *Châtillon*. Marſhal *de Crequi*'s Right and Left were well covered; but he had ſo little depth for his two Lines, from his being hemmed in by the Woods,

that

1677. that the Enemy might have fought him to ſome Advantage.

Whilſt he was drawing up his Forces, he ordered Marquiſs *de Villars* to obſerve the oppoſite Army which was advancing, and afterwards deſired him to keep near him, becauſe a Wound he had received long ſince, bleeding afreſh, would not ſuffer him to ſit his Horſe but with the utmoſt Pain. The Armies kept two Days in ſight; after which, that of the Emperor croſſed the *Moſelle* near *Thionville*, and marched under *Metz*, without performing any other Exploit than taking the Caſtle of *Sarreburg*. Marſhal *de Crequi* continuing ſtill to march along the Bank, both Armies returned again into *Alſatia*; that of the Emperour by the *Low-Countries*, and that of his Majeſty by *Saverne*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* met at this time with a ſmall Grievance, which nevertheleſs confirmed him in the Belief that Fortune was on his Side; and at the ſame time determined him never more to Honour, as he himſelf has ſince ſaid, to wiſh, to be in one Corps or Army rather than another. He happened to be in the Brigade of *la Valette*; and they not being Friends, he earneſtly deſired Marſhal *de Crequi*

Crequi to remove him. The Marſhal, 1677.
tho' he ſeemed to be his Friend, and even to repoſe a great Confidence in him, would not grant his Requeſt, which was of great Advantage to Marquiſs *de Villars*; for by his continuing in this Brigade, he had the greateſt ſhare in four conſiderable Engagements fought during the remainder of that Campaign.

Marſhal *de Crequi*, perſiſting ſtill in his Deſign, *viz.* to diſpute the Ground with the Imperial Army near *Straſburg*, came and encamped at *Marle*, his Right extended to that ſmall City, and his Left to the Caſtle of *Cokerſberg*. *La Valette's* Brigade was not encamped in the Line, but was as a Reſerve, poſted at the Foot of the Caſtle of *Cokerſberg*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* marched the Imperial Army to *Guguenein*, and made General *Schultus* advance with two thouſand Horſe, againſt the Horſe-Guard of his Majeſty's Army, at the Head of which were Count *de Schomberg*, Marſhal-de-Camp of the Day, and Marquiſs *de Villars*. Two hundred Piquet-Horſe ſuſtained them; and advancing too near, 'twas thought proper to march them nearer to the Caſtle of *Cokerſberg*. The Enemy attacked, with five hundred of

their

1677. their Horſe, this little Body of Cavalry, which was drawn up in order of Battle Count *de Schomberg* and Marquiſs *de Villars*, ſeeing theſe five hundred Horſe at ſome little diſtance from the two thouſand, from whom they were detached, marched up, defeated them, and afterwards rode towards the Caſtle of *Cokerberg*.

Marſhal *de Crequi*, having ſeen the Beginning of this Action, had cauſed the Brigade of *la Valette*, and the Troops of the Houſhold to mount, when finding the Enemy were not ſupported by their Army, he gave Orders for marching againſt them. Count *de Schomberg* and Marquiſs *de Villars* heading the Corps they charged as ſucceſsfully as before, the firſt Bodies who had again rode off to too great a Diſtance from their main Body Marquiſs *de Villars* had two Horſes killed under him. At the Beginning of the Engagement, he had been deſired to put on a Coat of Mail; but he declared aloud before the Officers and Troopers, that he did not think his Life more precious than thoſe of the brave Men at whoſe Head he fought.

After the ſecond Charge, the Brigade of *la Valette* being arrived, was drawn

up in order of Battle, behind the firſt Troops which had already charged, and the two hundred Horſe that ſuſtained them, but which, being weakned by their charging twice, returned into the Squadrons of that Brigade. 1677.

The Marquiſs *de Villars* took his Poſt at the Head of his Regiment, with near forty Officers, all Volunteers belonging to the Army, who, from the Beginning of the Action, had fought along with him. This Brigade, compoſed of ſeven Squadrons, and of near three hundred Horſe that remained of the Centinels and the Detachment, ſtood in Battle-array before the Enemy, who were again come within Muſket-ſhot, but in a Line, and preſenting a Front of about twelve Squadrons. Upon this, the whole Imperial Army marched out, to ſuſtain the two thouſand Horſe, and bring on a general Battle. But Marſhal *de Crequi*, unwilling to proceed ſo far, in the Poſt he was, commanded the nine Squadrons of our Forces that were drawn up oppoſite to the Enemy, to retire thro' the Intervals of the Houſhold Troops, which were drawing up behind this firſt Line.

This was a very dangerous Retreat, we being ſo near the Enemy, that a Squadron could not wheel about, without advancing

1677. advancing within fifty Paces of their Line. Marquiſs *de Villars* was ſenſible of the Danger; and told the Volunteers who were with him out of the Squadron, that the Inſtant they made the leaſt Motion to retire, they might expect to be charg[ed]. He therefore deſired them to continue behind thoſe two Squadrons, and by firing their Piſtols, to repulſe the Enemy as faſt as poſſible. They complied very exactly and very happily with his Orders, which gave occaſion to a fine Movement of the Horſe a Moment after.

The Inſtant our Line began to turn about, the whole of that of the Enemy mov'd and followed it; but as there were forty Volunteers firing inceſſantly on the the Enemy, which ſhould naturally have fallen on the Squadrons of *Villars*'s Regiment, theſe Squadrons not being drawn up ſo cloſe; he perceived, in the Right, five of the Enemy's Squadrons riding after ſuch of ours as were retiring in the Intervals. Seeing now, that in charging this Line of the Enemy in Flank he might attack them with Advantage; inſtead of returning into the Interval, he marched the Left of his two Squadrons; defeated eaſily the Line of the Enemy, and beat them back to the Head of their Army: So that, himſelf, at the Head of his

his Officers, came near the Enemy's Can- 1677.
non, whoſe Train of Artillery marched in
the Middle of all the reſt, in the order of
an Army that is drawing up in Battle-
array. He was deſirous of carrying off
two or three little Pieces of Cannon, which
was not impoſſible, and propoſed it to
thoſe that followed him; but looking be-
hind him, he ſaw himſelf with only his
two Squadrons who were drawing up, and
was now very ſenſible that he ſhould be
very fortunate, could he have an oppor-
tunity of retiring; and this he could not
have done without being briſkly charg-
ed, had he not very luckily fallen in
with the Enemy's Columns of Foot and
Train of Artillery, and conſequently at
ſome little diſtance from thoſe of their Ca-
valry. He therefore retired without op-
poſition, except that the Enemy's Cannon
ſtopt, and fired upon him; and even ours,
from a miſtake which reflected Honour
on Marquiſs *de Villars*, fired alſo; for
who would have imagined, ſeeing two
Squadrons march out of the Enemy's Cen-
ter, that they were Friends? The Enemy
fired ſeven or eight Volleys of Cannon
upon him, but there were only a few
Horſes belonging to his Regiment kil-
led; and at his return, Marſhal *de Cre-*
qui perceived a Trooper of *Villars's* Re-
giment

1677. Regiment juſt expiring, a Sword having been thruſt thro' his Body. He aſked for his Colonel, who coming up to him, *Are you ſatisfied*, ſays he, *with me Colonel? I deſired no other Conſolation than to ſee you before I died.*

Marſhal *de Crequi* himſelf, charmed with Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Action, ſaid to him, that he was ſorry his Poſt of General, had deprived him of the Glory of ſharing in ſuch noble Attacks.

We preſumed, that the Gentlemen of the Sword would not be tired with the Relation of a particular Action, and of a Movement of Horſe, of ſo ſingular a Kind, that it deſerved to be related minutely; ſince it may be of Advantage to them to be taught by thoſe Methods in which Parties were ſucceſsful; and as they themſelves may employ them on the like Occaſion.

Whilſt that the Armies of *France* and thoſe of the Emperour diſputed the Ground in this manner in the neighbourhood of *Straſburg*, the Prince of *Saxony Eiſenac* who commanded a Body on the Upper *Rhine*, had laid a Bridge near the Village of *Huningue*; and ſeized upon a Redoubt which was rather a Land-mark between our Territories and thoſe of *Baſil*, than a Fortification. In the mean Time Baron

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de Montclar., Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, was detached with a ſmall Body to oppoſe the Prince of *Saxony*, who, not being able to ſettle himſelf there, re-paſſed the *Rhine*. The Duke of *Lorrain* being marched away, his Majeſty's Army croſſed the *Rhine* at *Briſac*, about the ſame time that the Prince of *Saxony* above-mentioned, drew near Fort *Khel*, and poſted his Troops under it. 1677.

Marſhal *de Crequi* being reſolved to attack him, made a feint March; the Brigade *de la Valette* being at the Head of the March, and at the Beginning of the Night, they came to the Banks of the *Kintze*. Marquiſs *de Villars* was then detached with three hundred Horſe, with Orders to croſs it firſt, and obſerve whether any Attempt might be made. After croſſing, and drawing up his few Troops in order of Battle, he drew near the Enemy; he found a Barrier guarded by ſome Infantry which fired, and went along a kind of Dike, ſecured by a Ditch which extended from the *Kintze* to the *Rhine*. 'Twas very dark, and by the noiſe the Enemy made, 'twas judged that they ſtood in Battle-array, behind the Dike abovementioned. He imagined, that by waiting till he might have Troops ſufficient to attack them, it would be beſt for him, to oblige them to ſpread

1677. themſelves, by diſturbing them in different Places. For this purpoſe he ſent ſix or ſeven Detachments, of ſeven or eight Troopers each; ordering them to fire in different Places, and to make a great noiſe along the Dike, which being done, he returned to the Barrier, that was now abandoned. At the ſame time he ordered a Lieutenant of his own Regiment, a very bold Man, with twenty Troopers, to enter it. This Lieutenant found the Enemy's Horſe in order of Battle, within two hundred Paces of the Dike, and came and informed Marquiſs *de Villars* of it.

The Marquiſs ſent his Lieutenant a ſecond Time, who immediately returned, and told him that the Enemy made a Motion as tho' they intended to retire; and that ſome Squadrons had already begun to turn about. Marquiſs *de Villars* having upwards of fifteen Trumpets, belonging to his own Detachment, and thoſe who had followed the Captains who fought as Volunteers under him, he divided them; made them all ſound to Battle, and, with his four Troops, charged the Enemy, who were upwards of two thouſand Horſe; but preparing to retire, theſe fired as they turned about, and all were defeated.

They were charged briſkly, when the Guard of Marſhal *de Crequi*, forming a Squadron which marched at the Head of the Army, charged, behind, through miſtake, Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Troop; and killed his Quarter-maſter, and ſome Troopers in the laſt Rank. Marquiſs *de Villars*, who might naturally believe he was ſurrounded with Enemies, (they being ſo numerous, and he having ſo few) faced about to thoſe who attacked him behind; ſeveral of Marſhal *de Crequi*'s Guards were killed; and they did not know one another but by the Light of the firing, and by the Parole for rallying, which was *Villars*. This Accident prevented their purſuing the Enemy ſo briſkly as they otherwiſe would have done, and yet the greateſt Part of them plunged into the *Rhine*, and let fall their Equipage. 1675

Marſhal *de Crequi* finding the Duke of *Lorrain* was marching away, and the Prince of *Saxony-Eiſnac* retired under *Straſburg*; made all the Diſpoſitions neceſſary to have it believed, that he deſigned to repaſs the *Rhine*, and go into Winter-quarters. Orders were ſent with regard to the Route the Army was to take; and it being pretty far in *November*, the Duke of *Lorrain* could ſcarce imagine that Marſhal *de Crequi* intended

1677. to beſiege *Friburg*. This City was fortified with but a double Range of pretty ſtrong Walls, flanked with old Towers, and with a Caſtle on the brow of a Mountain, ſtrong enough, but very ſmall.

To cut off all Forage from the Enemy, whom we ſuppoſed would march to the Succour of *Friburg*, the Inſtant they ſhould hear of our Deſign to attack them; Marſhal *de Crequi* ſet fire to all the Country lying between the Mountains and the *Rhine*, upwards towards *Briſac*. But Marquiſs *de Villars*, who commanded the Rearguard of the Army with three hundred Horſe, and who, being naturally humane, was conſequently averſe to Cruelty, ſaved, in oppoſition to the General's Orders, part of the little Cities to which we ſet fire in our march.

We fixed our Quarters round *Friburg*, and the Brigade of *la Valette* was quartered in the Abbey of *Kenderſtat*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was no ſooner informed that Marſhal *de Crequi*, inſtead of repaſſing the *Rhine*, attempted the Siege of *Friburg*, but he aſſembled his Forces with a Deſign to Succour it; and immediately diſpatched, by the narrow Paſſes of *Valkirk*, a Body of Horſe, Dragoons, and a thouſand choſen Foot, with

with Orders to throw themſelves, by the way of the Mountains, into the City. 1677

They were ordered to Forage in the Valley of *Valkirk*. Marquiſs *de Villars* who commanded an Eſcort of three hundred Horſe, hearing of the march of the Succours abovementioned, advanced into the Valley; when the Enemy ſeeing their Paſſage intercepted, thought only of retiring. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſoon perceived by their Motions, that they were more ſollicitous to make a retreat, than to attack us. He urged General *Genlis*, who commanded the Foragers, to give him a Party of Men, to make ſuch Attempts as he might think proper. Immediately he attacked and defeated the moſt advanced of the Enemy's Troops, as alſo three hundred of their Dragoons, who had diſmounted, in order to maintain a narrow Paſs. However, ſcarce had he forced them, but he found himſelf deprived of Troops; General *Genlis* being determined not to engage, whereby this Body of the Enemy, which might have been entirely defeated, loſt but two hundred Troopers or Dragoons. Marſhal *de Crequi* came forward in great Diligence, and being told that Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Deſign had not been purſued, nor his firſt Succeſs ſeconded, was very angry, and ex-

677. preſſed his Reſentment upon that Account to thoſe who had oppoſed it.

The Siege of *Friburg* advanced. An Aſſault was made on the outward Wall, and Marquiſs *de Villars* mounted thither at the Head of the Grenadiers. The very next Day the Governour capitulated for the City and the Caſtle, which one would have imagined could not have been taken when the Seaſon was ſo far advanced.

The Duke of *Lorrain* had iſſued out Orders every where, for throwing of Succours into *Friburg*. The Governours of *Conſtance*, of *Rhinfeld*, and of the * foreſtiere Cities, had aſſembled all their Garriſons, and three or four thouſand *Schnaphans*, (by which Name the Peaſants of the Mountains, a warlike People, are called.) All this Body marched over the Mountain-tops, not knowing that the Governour of *Friburg* had capitulated; ſo that they attacked the Abbey of *Kenderſtat*, where the Brigade of *la Valette* quartered, at the time that the Garriſon of *Friburg* was marching out.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was with Marſhal

* This is a Name given to four Cities in *Germany*, *Rhinfeld*, *Valdſuſt*, *Sekinghen*, and *Lauffemburg*, all ſo called, becauſe they anciently were in the *Black Foreſt*.

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de Crequi; when hearing, not far from his Quarters, a great Diſcharge of the ſmall Arms, he flew thither, and found the Abbey inveſted, and briſkly attacked by the Enemy, who had barred the Avenues of it. A Captain of his Regiment defended a Breach with twenty Troopers on foot. All were in the utmoſt Confuſion; ſeveral had hid themſelves, being reſolved not to make a Defence; but he no ſooner appeared, than all were inſpired with Courage; and ſeeing there would be no other way to ſave this Brigade, than by forcing the Enemy, he put himſelf at the Head of fifty Troopers, and broke thro' all the Fire of the Enemy's Foot, who perceiving Succours coming from the other Quarters, thought only of retiring. Thus Marquiſs *de Villars*, by continuing in the Brigade *de la Valette*, ſhared in the beginning of the Battle of *Cokersberg*, in the defeat of the Prince of *Saxony-Eiſenac*, and the two Engagements of *Valkirk* and *Kenderſtat*. 1677.

As to the other Actions, in which he ſerved as Volunteer, in the Courſe of this Campaign, it was merely by ſeeking ardently for, and with a real deſire to meet with them, that engaged him in them; and indeed, 'tis by this method only that one Soldier can learn more than another. Ma-

1677. ny an Officer ſhall perform his Duty exactly during a long courſe of Years, and yet may not happen to be preſent at one Action.

Marquiſs *de Villars* returned to Court in order to ſpend the Winter there. The King had ſent often for him; but his ſtrong Paſſion for a Lady, tho' it did not engroſs one of the Days he owed to the Service, did nevertheleſs take up many of thoſe he might have employed in making his Fortune.

Mr. *de Louvois* diſcovered an enmity to him on all occaſions. The Regiment of *Villars* was always allotted bad Quarters, and conſequently could never make a ſplendid Figure. But then, the Bravery of the Leader, and the ſeveral Individuals of it, diffuſed ſuch a Splendor round it as Magnificence can never give nor compenſate for; and which even deſpiſes every Thing ſpecious.

In the mean time, Marquiſs *de Villars*, careleſs of paying his Court, and at Enmity with the Secretary of War, by the Hatred he bore to Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Father, and Marſhal *de Bellefonds*; had the Diſſatisfaction to ſee, this Winter, ſome younger Officers advanced to the Poſt of Brigadier, and himſelf continue where he was. In the preceeding Campaign, Marquiſs

quiſs *de Bordage*, Nephew to Viſcount *de* 1677.
Turenne had been promoted to his Preju-
dice; but this Campaign had been ſo for-
tunate to him, that he might now na-
turally expect to riſe. He therefore took
Liberty to mention his great Uneaſineſs
to his Majeſty, in very ſtrong, but at the
ſame time reſpectful Terms. His Ma-
jeſty anſwered him twice in very mild
Words, and even applauded his Actions;
but the third time he ſpoke with ſome
little Severity, and Marquiſs *de Villars*
withdrew. Reduced to the Neceſſity of
making himſelf a Merit which might
force Fortune to declare in his Favour, and
to be, as it were, his own Creature; his
Bravery ſuggeſted the only Courſe which
Reaſon would have adviſed him to take,
that is, to ſtill ſerve his Majeſty, and ſur-
mount all Obſtacles, ——or die.

About the cloſe of this Year, the Prince
of *Orange* married Princeſs *Mary*, the
Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter. She was
looked upon as preſumptive Heireſs to the
Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, as
King *Charles* had no legitimate Children
nor the Duke of *York* any Male Iſſue.

During the Campaign of 1678, Mar
quiſs *de Villars*'s Regiment was appointe
to join the Army under Marſhal *de Cr*

1678. *qui*, and accordingly marched to it about the latter end of *May*.

This Army was encamped in the Plain of *Newburg*. That of the Duke of *Lorrain* advanced towards it; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came, at the Head of a thouſand Horſe, to attack our Guards. At that time the grand Guards were Squadrons, with Standards; and the ordinary Guards were Detachments of fifty Troopers poſted up and down the Front of the Army. Since that time the Squadron-Guards have been ſuppreſt, and the ordinary Guards only have been made uſe of. Marquiſs *de Villars*,* who commanded the grand Guard of the Left of the Army, ſpying a conſiderable Body of the Enemy's Horſe march towards our Guards, who were poſted (to the Right) on a Spot quite ſhaded with Trees, whereas the Place they guarded was a wide extended Plain; poſted to the Left, (he being in no danger from that Quarter) two ſmall Guards of ten Troopers; whilſt himſelf, with his Squadron, and three of the ordinary Guards, trotted hard in order to ſuccour three hundred Horſe commanded by *Olier*, a Colonel of Horſe, who was very briſkly attacked by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. He arrived at the Bank of the little Rivulet of *Newburg*, (which covered the Head

Head of the Camp,) time enough to ſave 1678.
thoſe three hundred Horſe who were gal-
loping away with the utmoſt Speed. *Olier* was killed, but Marquiſs *de Villars* rallied the reſt of this Detachment, and ſtopt the Prince of *Baden*.

At the time that Marquiſs *de Villars* had left his Poſt, in order to charge the Enemy, the Squadron of the Life-Guards, to the Right, had behaved very differently, they retiring in proportion as the Enemy advanced. Marſhal *de Crequi* coming up that Moment, Marquiſs *de Villars*, who knew that ſeveral General-Officers had cenſured him, by declaring, that the Camp-Guards were appointed to give notice, but not to fight, and ought never to quit their Poſts; ſaid to the Marſhal, in Preſence of thoſe who had blamed him: *I am but Young, and conſequently have a great many Things to learn, for which Reaſon I take the Liberty to aſk my General, whether if, happening to be upon Guard in a very open Country, and in no Danger of being attacked; I did well or ill, in leaving two ſmall Guards only on this Poſt; and in marching out againſt the Enemy, who bore hard upon our Troops, and attempted to enter the Camp.* Marſhal *de Crequi* made ſuch an Anſwer as could not but be very grating to thoſe General-Officers. Tho' he did

1678. not know them, he did not ſpare them in any manner, but declared plainly, *that none but Cowards and Pedants would diſapprove of Marquiſs* de Villars's *Conduct*; *that he himſelf thanked him for it, and therefore intreated him to take a few Hours Reſt, and afterwards put himſelf at the Head of five hundred Horſe, which he had appointed for him.*

Marquiſs *de Villars* marched this Party againſt the Enemy; bore hard on ſeveral Guards, and brought back ſome Priſoners. Marſhal *de Crequi* having notice that the Enemy had poſted a Body under *Rheinfeld*, a ſmall City on the *Rhine*, three Leagues above *Baſil*, marched in the Night, and ſurprized thoſe Troops, the greateſt Part of which retired over *Rheinfeld* Bridge. Marquiſs *de Teſſé*, a Colonel of Dragoons, purſued them at the Head of his Regiment, with the utmoſt Speed, and was wounded; but drove them to the Bridge. Our Dragoons killed a very great Number of them; but Marquiſs *de Ranes*, a Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, and Colonel-General of the Dragoons, loſt his Life.

Marſhal *de Crequi* having, by this Action, drove the greateſt Part of the Imperial Army towards *Rheinfeld*, thought by a Counter-march, that he could reach *Offenburg*

ſenburg, a ſmall City, ſituated on the *Kintze*, not far from *Straſburg*, before that the Duke of *Lorrain* would be able to throw in any Succours there; and that he might poſſeſs himſelf of it in a few Days; eſpecially as it was but poorly fortified, and the Garriſon very weak. Accordingly he marched twenty-ſeven Leagues in four Days, with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon; the heavy Baggage following ſlowly after. 1678.

The Duke of *Lorrain* ſeeing *Rheinsfeld* was in no Danger, ſaw through Marſhal *de Crequi*'s Deſigns; and at the ſame time that the *French* Army were moving, in order to attack *Offenburg*, that of the Emperour ſet out from behind the Mountains, to ſave that City; by which means the Head of the two Armies met, as at a Rendezvous, at the Foot of the Caſtle of *Artemburg*, ſtanding on the *Kintze*, at the Outlet of the Mountains. Marquiſs *de Villars* was at the Head of the moſt advanced Troops, when they attacking the Heads of thoſe of the Emperour, the firſt five or ſix Squadrons of his were defeated. Marquiſs *de Villars* took Colonel *Renſin*, a Native of *Lorrain*; and they repulſed the Enemy to the very Walls of the little City of *Gegenbach*, poſſeſſed by them. The Diligence they made, ſaved *Offenburg*;

1678. *Offenburg*; but Marſhal *de Creqûi* reſolved to attack Fort *Kehl*, at that time a very indifferent, ſmall Fortification of Earth, which covered the Head of *Straſburg*-Bridge.

Accordingly a Trench was opened, in order that we might poſt ourſelves in ſuch a Manner, as to be able, the next Day, to attempt an Aſſault on this little Work, without going at too great a Diſtance. Ten Companies of Grenadiers and three hundred Dragoons, ſuſtained by four Battalions, were ordered upon this Expedition, and ſet out upon their March in open Day. Marquiſs *de Villars* happening to be that Moment in the Trench, put himſelf at the Head of the firſt Detachment. He was dreſſed in a Suit embroidered with Gold; and Marſhal *de Crequi* ſeeing him mount the Breach firſt, which the Pikemen defended for ſome time, aſſured thoſe who ſtood round him, that Marquiſs *de Villars* would certainly riſe in the World, and ſaid to him at his Return; *Young Man, if Heaven prolong your Life, no Officer ſtands ſo fair to ſucceed me in my Employment, as your ſelf.*

Fort *Khel* being won, Marquiſs *de Crequi* razed the Fortifications of it, and after ſetting Fire to the Houſes, repaſſed the *Rhine*, in order to March downward towards *Landau*. The Duke of *Lorrain* croſſed

croſſed that River above *Philipſburg*, at 1678.
the Village called *Limerſin*.

Theſe were the only conſiderable Actions during the reſt of this Campaign, except thoſe in which Marquiſs *de Villars* was engaged, who indeed ſought them ſo eagerly that it was impoſſible but he muſt meet with ſome. Having followed Marſhal *de Bouflers*, who was commanded to go upon a Party of Forage, he arrived with him at the Head of the Eſcorts. After having ſeated the Foragers, he met with a great Number who had pierced into a Valley, where they were covered by only an hundred Dragoons, in two ſeparate Bodies. Scarce had he found the Danger he was in, when four hundred of the Enemy's Horſe ruſhed upon the hundred Dragoons. Marquiſs *de Bouflers* ran towards the Foragers, in order to aſſemble ſuch of them as were armed; and Marquiſs *de Villars*, at the Head of a Party of the Queen's Dragoons, maintained reſolutely a very narrow Defile. As he attempted to ſtop a Dragoon who was flying, he ſeized the Bridle of the Horſe which pranced about, when both Man and Horſe were killed; and Marquiſs *de Villars*, being behind the ſlain Horſe, halted reſolutely in the way. Five or ſix Volunteer-Officers, and among the reſt

one

1678. one *Virmon*, a Captain of the Colonel-General's Regiment of Horſe, halted near him; and the few Moments they gave Marſhal *de Bouflers*, to aſſemble his Troops, ſufficed them to keep the Enemy from diſperſing our Foragers, and taking great Numbers of them Priſoners. This Action of Marquiſs *de Villars*, engaged the Prince of *Conde*, who was a ſupreme Judge of Valour, to write him a Letter full of Compliments on that occaſion.

Thus ended the Campaign of 16[illegible]. All *Europe*, grown quite weary of War, was extremely deſirous of Peace. The Treaties which had been interrupted at *Colen*, and revived at *Nimeguen*, were now going forward. That between *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, the States of *Holland*, and the Emperour was concluded; but the Elector of *Brandenburg* could not be prevailed upon to give back ſeveral Territories and Strong-holds won from the Crown of *Sweden*. However, as his Majeſty ſacrificed one Part of his Conqueſts in *Flanders*, to the Intereſt of the King of *Sweden* his Ally, thoſe of the Elector of *Brandenburg* abandoned him. Marſhal *de Créqui*, at the Head of the King's Army, croſſed the *Veſer*, and defeated ſome of the Elector's Forces; after which the Prince

ſubmitted

ſubmitted to the Conditions of the Treaty of *Nimeguen.* 1678.

At the ſame time Marſhal *d' Humieres*, ſet out upon his March to ſeize *Homburg*, a ſmall Town on the other Side the *Saare* belonging to the old Duke of *Lorrain*, and poſſeſſed, for many Years, by the Elector of *Mentz*. Marquiſs *de Villars* marched in this Army. The Governour of the Place ſurrendred, after ſtanding ſome Volleys of Cannon; and in the middle of 1679, a general Peace was concluded all over *Europe*. Marquiſs *de Villars*, notwithſtanding his great Services, continued ſtill in the ſame Poſt; but a violent Paſſion he had for a Lady, made him inſenſible to all the Rigours of Fortune. Another Affair of the ſame Nature brought him under a little Diſgrace at Court; and accordingly he was commanded to abſent himſelf from it for ſome time.

The Nuptials of Princeſs *Mary Louiſa*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, were ſolemnized with the King of *Spain*, at whoſe Court Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Father, as we before obſerved, was Embaſſador; and the Year after, the Dauphin was married to the Princeſs of *Bavaria*.

'Tis well known, that the Years 1681 and 1682, are not remarkable for any conſiderable

1678. conſiderable Event, except that in the former, *Straſburg* ſubmitted to the *French*. The Capitulation was ſigned, on one Part by Marquiſs *de Louvois*, and Baron *de Montelar* who commanded in *Alſatia*; and on the other by eight Deputies of the City, which was preſerved in all its Privileges.

1682. *Theodore-Alexowits* Grand Duke of Muſcovy died in 1682, and great Troubles broke out after his Death. He left only two Brothers and a Siſter, who were all very young; and Prince *Galiczin* was appointed their Governour. *John*, the eldeſt, aſſociated his younger Brother *Peter* in the Government with him; but Princeſs *Sophia* and Prince *Galiczin* conſpired againſt the latter. 'Tis pretended, that this Princeſs deſigned to marry Prince *Galiczin*'s Son, and ſeat her Conſort on the Throne; but *Peter* diſcovering the Conſpiracy, confined *Sophia* in a Convent, baniſhed *Galiczin*, and made away with moſt of the Creatures of his Brother *John*; who nevertheleſs ſtill preſerved the Title of *Czar*, but intermedled ſo little with the Affairs of Government, that very little mention was made of him afterwards. With regard to *Peter Alexowitz*, he had ſo conſiderable a Share in a great Number of remarkable Events of late Years, that

that he has gained himſelf a much greater Name than any of his Predeceſſors. 1682.

After ſome Years of Peace, the War broke out again in 1683, by the taking of *Courtray* and *Luxemburg*, and ended with the taking of the latter; but this War, tho' ſo very ſhort, had like to have proved fatal to Marquiſs *de Villars*. He was detached, with Count *de Montal*, who was advancing towards *Charleroi*, with a Body of Horſe. Marquiſs *de Villars*, obſerving that the Beſieged levelled ſome pieces of Cannon at twelve or fifteen Officers who ſtood near him, ſaid to them, (pointing to a Gun) *that will come very near us*; and juſt as he was going to give his Cloak to a Valet de Chambre, the Motion he made, ſaved him from the Ball, which killed his Valet de Chambre. 1683.

A War being now broke out between the Emperour and the Grand Signior, Marquiſs *de Villars* could not refuſe this Opportunity of leaving a Repoſe, that indeed was not ſo to him. He uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to obtain Leave to ſerve in the Emperour's Armies, but did not dare to aſk it, as it had been refuſed to the Prince of *Conti*: his Majeſty, from a wiſe Foreſight, being afraid, that in caſe he ſhould grant ſuch a Permiſſion, great Numbers of

1683. of the Nobility would go and ſacrifice their Lives in thoſe foreign Wars.

It was neceſſary therefore for Marquiſs *de Villars* to obtain Leave to quit the Kingdom without diſpleaſing his Majeſty, and for that purpoſe, he requeſted ſeveral Commiſſions which were to be executed in foreign Courts. At laſt, he was appointed to wait upon the Emperour, and condole him, in the King's Name, on the Death of the Empreſs his Mother. The Marquiſs was now quite fallen out with Mr. *de Louvois*, and exaſperated at the Injuſtice he had done him; however, he went and took leave of him, and all he could get from that Miniſter, was, repeated Aſſeverations that he would not oppoſe any Favours his Majeſty might pleaſe to beſtow upon him. This cold Speech, obliged Marquiſs *de Villars* to make him the following Anſwer, *after ſuch a Promiſe I may expect your Favour as uſual*; and immediately, he left the Room without ſaluting him.

Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Reputation had reached the Emperour's Court before his Arrival there. Several Generals had heard his Name mentioned in the Battles fought during the laſt Wars; and the *Germans* expreſſed their Regret at his having been ſo ill rewarded by his Country, for the

the great Services he had done it. He met with a very gracious Reception at this Court, and Count *de Stratman*, a Miniſter of State, in whom the Emperour repoſed the greateſt Confidence, gave him the ſtrongeſt Marks of his Friendſhip; and even endeavoured to engage him in the Emperour's Intereſt, by aſſuring him, that more Juſtice would be done him at *Vienna*. 1683.

The firſt Letters which Marquiſs *de Villars* writ from this City to the King, concerning the Emperour's Court, the Cabals that divided the Miniſters and the Generals, and particularly the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Prince *Herman* of *Baden*; gave his Majeſty great Satisfaction. He had not diſtinguiſhed any thing in the Marquiſs but his Courage; however, he, on this occaſion, plainly diſcovered that he had not known all his Qualities, and that he alſo was a Man of Wit and Genius; had a very happy Talent for conducting of Negotiations; and found, that tho' he was born for War, he yet might be uſeful in Times of Peace.

The Elector of *Bavaria* came to *Vienna*, and ſhowed Marquiſs *de Villars* the utmoſt Civility. He even admitted him into his Confidence; and the King, very deſirous of winning back to his Intereſt a Prince who

1677. who was entirely devoted to the Emperour's Service, notwithſtanding, his Father had adhered ſo ſtrongly to the *French* Intereſt, and the Alliance of his Siſter, Conſort to the Dauphin; commanded Marquiſs *de Villars* to follow the Elector to *Munich*; however, not as tho' he went upon a private Deſign, but only to pay his Court to a Prince, in Gratitude for the Civilities he had received from him.

We are now going to enter upon a Negotiation that was carried on with great Warmth, and which engaged Marquiſs *de Villars* to be preſent in the Wars of *Hungary*, of which he always ſtrongly deſired to be a Spectator.

The Elector had long indulged a Paſſion for the Counteſs of *Kaunits*, a Lady of great Wit. Her Huſband a Perſon of vaſt Abilities, and who was afterwards one of the Emperour's Chief Miniſters, connived very patiently at this Intrigue, ſince it contributed to the Advancement of his Fortune; as well becauſe of the Benefactions he received from the Elector, as the Eſteem he gained at the Imperial Court by the Elector's ſacrificing entirely his Troops and Money to ſerve the Emperour. The Counteſs of *Kaunits* had ſo great an Aſcendant over this Prince, that he granted whatever ſhe could aſk. He alſo

alſo was determined to ſerve in all the Wars in *Hungary*; ſo that he conſumed, in a few Years, the vaſt Treaſure the Elector his Father had amaſſed. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſoon found, that he muſt cure the Elector of his Paſſion for the Counteſs of *Kaunitz*, before he could draw him from the Emperour's Intereſt. 1677.

His Paſſion, as well as the Lady's Beauty, was upon the Decline; but both Huſband and Wife had got entire Poſſeſſion of the Elector's Court, and every thing in it was at their Devotion.

Marquiſs *de Villars* began with inſpiring the Elector with a Deſire of inviting to *Munich* the young Counteſs of *Velen*, one of the Empreſs's Ladies, with whom the Elector had correſponded before his laſt Journey to *Vienna*. This young Lady arrived with the utmoſt Privacy. A ſmall, ſecret Apartment had been prepared for her in the Palace; however, ſhe had ſo little Senſe and Wit, that the Marquiſs ſoon found ſhe would be of no uſe to him, except her having contributed to free the Elector from his former Chains.

An *Italian* young Gentlewoman, *Canoſſa* by Name, took the young Counteſs's Place. This Girl was exquiſitely beautiful, and much more ſo, than was neceſſary for one who was Miſtreſs of ſo much Wit.

As

1677. As ſhe had made Gallantry her Study in *Venice*, ſhe gave very ſkilful Leſſons on that Subject in *Munich*. All the remaining Part of the Winter was ſpent in Pleaſure. The Elector was very deſirous of going to *Venice*, in order to paſs another Carnaval there; but Marquiſs *de Villars* prevailed to make him lay aſide his Deſign; by repreſenting to him, that 'twas more auguſt, and even more agreeable, for a Sovereign to continue in his own Court, than to ramble up and down the World; and that Glory only ought to force a great Prince to leave his own Country. At laſt, they ſet out for *Hungary*.

When Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaw that the Elector, tired with his former Miſtreſs, began to be ſenſible of the Tyranny of the Imperial Miniſters, he adviſed him very earneſtly to diſſemble his Thoughts; eſpecially as he was to go through *Vienna*, and commanded the Emperour's Armies in Conjunction with the Duke of *Lorrain*. He only told him, that he might endeavour to ſeem to have contracted a greater Intimacy with the Duke of *Lorrain*; to be more ſenſible of his own Dignity, and deſirous of freeing himſelf from a kind of Guardianſhip or Tuition, under which he till then had been very cloſely confined.

Marquiſs

Marquiſs *de Villars* informed his Ma- 1683.
jeſty, that as he knew certainly all his
Letters would be opened, he therefore would not write any thing either from *Vienna* or the Army, but what he himſelf ſhould be willing to have known to the Emperour's Miniſters. But that with regard to the Service, he would behave in the Imperial Army, as tho' he had been a Native of *Auſtria*; and he did ſo.

The Elector ſet out for the Campaign with a very magnificent Equipage. There were one hundred and fifty great Boats, which came up with them near *Alten Eting* in *Bavaria*, where great Devotion was paying to a Saint. In four Days they reached *Vienna*, where the Elector made a very ſhort Stay. He had purpoſely left *Munich* very late.

The Campaign was already opened in 1684.
Hungary. The Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe real Intention was to march to *Eſſeck*, as to the moſt important Conqueſt that could be won; and becauſe 'tis very difficult for a large Army to maintain a War at a great Diſtance from the *Danube*; becauſe this River brings Proviſions of every kind, and Ammunition; endeavoured to divide the Forces of the *Turks*, by annoying them both to the Right and Left of the *Danube*; and marched firſt towards

1684. *Segedin*, as tho' he intended to enter *Tranſylvania*, or attack the City of *Waradin*.

But the *Turks* did not ſuffer themſelves to be over-reached. They continued entrenched under *Eſſeck*, which they judged ſo conſiderable a Poſt, that it made them neglect to oppoſe the Paſſage of the *Drave*, which was ſo difficult in it ſelf, that the Emperour's Forces were forced to build twenty-five Bridges of Boats, in order to croſs it. Several Arms of this River are larger than the * *Marne*.

The Army having croſſed, the next thing was to march againſt the *Turks*. The Imperialiſts paſſed to the Left of the Caſtle of *Walpo*, garriſoned by four or five hundred *Turks*; and went three or four Leagues thro' Woods, in their way to *Eſſeck*. They marched with the utmoſt Caution, the Foot mixed with the Horſe, that is, a Detachment of a thouſand Horſe, which drove back about two thouſand *Spahis*, who retired three hundred Paces before them, and brought back the Scouts of the Imperial Army as far as the firſt Squadrons, at the Head of which the Duke of *Lorrain* was poſted. Marquiſs *de Villars*, in order that he might not loſe any part of the Action,

* A conſiderable River of *France*.

nor

nor of the General's Orders, kept as near his Perſon as was proper for a Gentleman who ſerved as Volunteer. This Prince marched ſingle; after him followed *Caprara*, Count *Taff*, and two more of the chief Generals, the reſt being diſtributed in the ſeveral Diviſions; for the Duke had laid it down as a Maxim, to have always, near his Perſon, three or four of the principal Generals, who had no Poſt in the Army, but who, on every important Occaſion, uſed to go and cauſe his Orders to be executed with greater exactneſs than his Aid de Camps could have done; and this Marquiſs *de Villars* himſelf has ſince practiſed, in the great Armies where he was Generaliſſimo. 1684.

The March was faſter or ſlower, according to the thickneſs or openneſs of the Woods thro' which they paſs'd. The Imperialiſts ſpread five or ſix Battalions, and as many Squadrons; and they let ſlip no Opportunity of drawing up in order of Battle, whenever the Ground would allow of it.

In fine, after marching a whole Day and part of the Night, they came out of the Woods at Day-break, when they ſaw the *Turkiſh* Army intrenched on the Brow of a Hill, having the *Drave* to the Right,

1684. the *Danube* to their Left, and the City of *Eſſeck* behind, and in their Center.

The whole Front of the Line ſeemed ſpread with Colours and Standards, and upwards of one hundred and fifty Cannon were diſpoſed in the intervals of the Troops. Two thouſand *Spahis*, or near that Number, appeared without the Intrenchments, part of which, detached from Time to Time, to ſkirmiſh with ſuch of the Imperialiſts as advanced a few Paces from their Line, which however, the Generals prevented as much as lay in their Power.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was very cautious in ſpreading his Forces, and drew up his Line by inſenſible Degrees; the Foot, covered by his Chevaux de Friſe, gaining Ground, and extending along the Woods; ſome Squadrons marching in the midſt of the Battalions, intermixed with Brigades of Ordnances, whilſt that of the Enemy was firing continually. In fine, a whole Day, from three of the Morning till ten in the Evening, was ſpent in drawing up the Army in Battle-array. They rectified in the Night, whatever Defects were in the Order of Battle; ſo that 'twas nine in the Morning before the Army was in a Condition to march againſt the Enemy.

The Order of the Battle being well diſpoſed, the Generals came within Muſket-ſhot

ket-ſhot of the Intrenchments, in order to reconnoitre them. They obliged by dint of Cannon, all ſuch *Turks* as were without, to retire into them; and after reconnoitring ſix or ſeven Hours, they judged it would be impoſſible to attack them in their Trenches. Immediately the Imperial Generals reſolved to retire in the ſame Order, and with the ſame Caution as they had marched. As the Right had the Vanguard, the Left made the Retreat; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* who commanded it under the Elector of *Bavaria*, performed the whole with the utmoſt Regularity, he having diſpoſed twenty Battallions for that purpoſe. They, at firſt, were drawn up in two Lines; afterwards, the ſecond being divided into two, formed a kind of ſquare Battalion, the two Branches of which extended within the Woods, and cloſed the middle, in which ſix Squadrons of the oldeſt Regiments were poſted. Thus, in proportion as the two Branches ſpread within the Wood, the firſt Line drew near it in order of Battle; and the Front of this Line diminiſhed inſenſibly. By this means all got again into the Woods without uncovering their Flanks. 1685.

The *Turks* being ſatisfied that the Imperialiſts were retired, did not endeavour to moleſt them; and the Generals reſolved

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1685. not to attack the Caſtle of *Walpo*, tho they had left it inveſted at their March to *Eſſeck*. The Emperour's Army repaſſed the *Drave* with the ſame Eaſe as they paſſed it, the *Turks* not once moving towards the Head of the Bridges, either to ſtop, or to attack the Rear-guard, both of which they might eaſily have done.

Marquiſs *de Villars*, being very deſirous to acquaint himſelf with a Species of War ſo different from ours, was perpetually buſying himſelf in every thing that related to it; ſometimes aſking Queſtions of the chief *Turkiſh* Officers who were Priſoners; at other Times, of ſuch Imperialiſts as had been Slaves in *Turkey*, and among the reſt Chevalier *Sentiny*, who had ſerved under a Viſier three Years. He took the ſtricteſt Notice of every particular relating to War, and has written very inſtructive Memoires, with regard to all the Orders and Differences of the *Eaſtern* Troops.

The Emperour's Army having repaſſed the *Drave*, thought the Campaign loſt, which it would certainly have been, had not the Ignorance and Raſhneſs of the *Turks* prompted them to undertake ſuch Motions as were vaſtly impolitic. For a Peace was concluding ſecretly; and the Grand Segnior, as well as the Emperour, who

who was very much ſtraitned by the Advantages *France* had gained, ever ſince the War had been carried on againſt the *Turks*, were equally deſirous of it. The King had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Straſburg*: The Duke of *Mantua* had ſold us *Cazal*, by a Treaty begun in *Flanders*, and continued on the Spot, (as appears from the Letters of Mr. *de Louvois*, and of *Abbé Morel*;) afterwards diſcontinued, and at laſt revived again. The *French* had beſieged and taken *Luxemburg*, the moſt important Strong-hold poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, to ſecure to *Flanders* the Commerce of the Empire; and the *Spaniards* being unable to make a Defence, had conſented to whatever Conditions had been required from them. The King was fortifying *Mont-Royal*, *Traerbach*, *Landaw*, *Longway*, *Sarre-Lewis*, and all the Strong-holds that opened to us all ſuch Territories of the Empire, as are ſituated on the hither Side of the *Rhine*. Thus the Empire being threatned, *Italy* ſhaken by the loſs of *Cazal*, and all the States bordering upon *France*, intimidated by its Power, would not permit the Emperour to ſuſpend any longer the concluſion of a Peace with the *Turks*. The Duke of *Lorrain* himſelf, to excuſe the Difficulties he had ſtarted, with regard to the Battle 1685.

1685. which was wone ſome Days after, did not ſcruple to declare afterwards to Marquiſs *de Villars*, who firſt adviſed engaging the *Turks*; that when a Peace of ſo much Importance was upon the Point of being concluded, a Battle ought not to be fought merely to divert the Volunteers. The Sentiments of this Volunteer might be conſidered of ſome Importance, from the great Credit he was known to have with the Elector of *Bavaria*.

The Imperial Army encamped ſome Days near *Baranywar*, during which, a *Viſier* who had been taken the preceeding Campaign, and belonged to General *Duneval*, was ranſomed by the *Turks* for forty thouſand Crowns in Specie, and about ten thouſand in Skins and precious Stones.

The *Turks* ſent an Aga and twelve or fifteen Saphis, with the Money; and whilſt it was counting out, Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was upon a very beautiful *Spaniſh* Horſe, caracoll'd with this Aga, who was very well mounted, and ſat a Horſe admirably well. Their Manege concluded with Civilities; and the Aga taking particular notice of Marquiſs *de Villars*'s fine Piſtols, the latter offered them him, which General *Duneval* diſapproved, and would not ſuffer the Aga to

to receive them, saying, that 'twas not proper for a Gentleman to present his Enemy with Arms. 1685.

In the mean time, the *Turks* had crossed the *Drave* or *Essek* Bridge, a very magnificent piece of Work, which, fixed on a numberless Multitude of Piles, traversed the *Drave*, and all its Arms, with the several Morasses round it, from *Essek*, as far as the main Land towards *Baranywar*. 'Twas so wide, that a Battalion could march over it in Front; and the *Turks* made use of it, in order to march their Armies towards *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and all the Strong-holds higher up.

The Imperial Generals had been forced to send along the Banks of the Upper *Drave* to defend the Passage of it, all the Natives of the Country, *viz.* the *Hussars*, the *Crabats*, *(Croatians)* and other Light-Horse, all which, tho' the Imperialists did not much esteem them, yet whenever they joined with the *Turks*, it gave them an Air of so much Superiority, that their Cavalry would daily brave the Imperial Army; taking Prisoners a great Number of their Foragers, and obliging their Horse-Guard to keep so near the Army, that if they went but at ever so little a Distance from it, the *Turkish* Horse brought them back to it.

1685. The fleetneſs of their Horſes gave theſe *Huſſars* and *Cravats*, &c. who were naturally brave, ſo great an Advantage over the Emperour's *Cuiraſſiers*, that theſe did not dare to move out of their Line.

But the wiſe Conduct of our Troops, and the Imprudence of the *Turks*, at laſt drew on the Battle; and the Grand Viſier who had extended his Army in covered Grounds on this Side the *Drave*, contenting himſelf with ſtraitning us, and taking a great Number of our Foragers, was at laſt forced, by the raſh and mutinous Spirit of his Soldiers, to appear in the Plain before us.

The *Ottoman* Army was drawn up on the other Side of the *Eſſeck*, in Woods and Meadows which extend from the Head of *Eſſeck* Bridge to within half a League of the Foot of the Mountain of *Erſans*. Nothing was ſeen of their Army, but the Heads of ſome Troopers, who often appeared in the Plains reaching from the *Drave* towards *Siclos* and *Fief-Kirken* (*Quinque Eccleſiæ*,) and always took a great Number of Foragers on this Occaſion. The Left of the Imperial Army extended to the Rivulet towards *Barcan-war*, and their Right towards *Siclos*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, not having an Opportunity to charge the *Ottoman* Army, had

now nothing to do but to fall on *Erlaw*, a 1685.
ſmall Fortreſs on the other Side the *Danube*, between *Segedin* and *Newhauſel*.

He was determined, before he marched away, to draw out from *Siclos* and *Fief-Kirken*, the Garriſons which had been placed in thoſe Towns, and afterwards raze them. For this purpoſe the Imperial Army was advancing, *Auguſt* the 11th, in the Plain of *Siclos*, when the *Turks*, who ought to have been greatly ſatisfied with their having defeated, during this Campaign, all the Projects and Efforts of their Enemies, forced the Grand Viſier to leave the Woods in which he had poſted himſelf on this Side the *Drave*; where he was for ever under Covert; contenting himſelf with taking a great Number of Foragers, and ſtraitning the *German* Army; and they not only obliged him to appear in the Plains before the Imperial Army, but even to attack them in their March.

Scarce had the Left-Wing of this Army (extended on a Rivulet) drawn off from it and wheeled to the Right, but great Bodies of Spahis were ſeen to ruſh out from the ſeveral hollow ways of the Woods. The Duke of *Lorrain* was at the Head of the Right-Wing; and the

1685. Elector of *Bavaria*, with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, commanded the Left.

The Elector of *Bavaria* bid Marquiſs *de Villars* fly with the utmoſt Speed on Mount *Erſans*, in order to diſcover the Motions of the *Turks*. He was ſcarce got half way, when he perceived all theſe various Corps of Spahis extend along the Plain, ſuſtained by great Batallions of Janizaries, their Ordnance being drawn up on the Intervals; in a Word, all things diſpoſed for Battle. The Right Wing of the *Turks* was even advancing to ſurround the Left Wing of the Imperialiſts. Seeing this, Marquiſs *de Villars* flew as faſt as poſſible, and told General *Picolomini*, (Commander of the ſecond Line of the Horſe) whom he met, to throw his Line as faſt as poſſible into a Curve about the Mountain, in order to ſecure himſelf on that Side; and after this Counſel, which *Picolomini* followed immediately, he galloped to the Elector and the Prince of *Baden*, and told them, that they had but juſt time to draw up their Battalions and Squadrons, and were going to be attacked. All ſuch Troops as were in a Column drew up in order of Battle. The Foot fixed their Chevaux de Friſes; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, followed by Marquiſs *de Villars*, ran to the ſecond Line of the Horſe.

Horſe. They found this Curve drawn up, and making Head againſt the *Turks*, who had already croſſed the Rivulet, on which the Left Wing of the Imperial Army had ſpread at firſt; and who attempted, with a Body of ſeven or eight thouſand Spahis, to take the Army behind, between the ſecond Line and the Mountain. The Prince of *Baden* ordered all the Officers into the Squadrons; put himſelf at the Head of this Line, four or five Paces out of it, and would have Marquiſs *de Villars* near him. 1685.

The *Turks* had ſcarce made ſome little Motion, as tho' they intended to draw near the Imperial Squadrons, but they halted. A Battalion of Janizaries poſted themſelves to the Left of their Horſe on the Side of the Eminence; fired ſome Muſket-balls; and this great Body, which had only a ſingle Line of Horſe to break through, in order to charge the Imperial Army behind, did not advance a Step forwarder.

The Uncertainty they were in, made the Prince of *Baden* reſolve to advance a few Paces; and that inſtant, as tho' they had waited but for this firſt Motion to retire, the Spahis and Janizaries were ſeen to retreat again. The Imperialiſts advanced in proportion as the others drew back, and

1685. and the Left Wing of the former came again, by inſenſible Degrees, to the ſame Rivulet, where they had been poſted the Morning; and the Army, after repulſing all who were got behind and extended beyond them, drew up in order of Battle, in a Right Line, before the *Turkiſh* Army.

We thought it would not be improper to deſcribe theſe Motions, becauſe they are ſeldom practiſed in our Wars; and as we are not uſed to ſee eight or ten thouſand Horſe gallop together as ſo many Foragers, and attempt to attack an Army behind; a Motion which, if vigorouſly executed, might be very ſucceſsful; and the bare ſingularity of it would almoſt prove an Advantage. But to return to the Sequel of the Battle. All the Emperour's Army ſtill advanced forward, whilſt that of the *Turks* did nothing but retire.

'Twas ſcarce poſſible, as they retreated in this Manner, but they muſt ſoon be in Confuſion; and indeed, the Spahis, without being charged, began to move, and abandon the Janizaries. 'Tis true, indeed, that ſome Bodies, in the Line, charged them with greater briſkneſs; but that headed by the Prince of *Baden*, Prince *Eugene*, and Prince *Commerci*, Marquiſs *de Villars*

.....rs and Marquiſs *de Crequi*, and the other Volunteers, did not move till the *Turkiſh* Horſe began to fly. When, in a Moment, they found themſelves in the midſt of this prodigious Body of Janizaries, *who fled without Terror*. 'Tis certain that, had there been one General among them, they might eaſily have kept their Ground in the Woods. In all probability, the Grand Viſier did not directly intend to venture a Battle; for he had begun, at the Head of the Woods, ſome Entrenchments, which were made only in a Right Line; not to mention that the *Turks* ſeemed to throw up the Ground before them, (as at the opening of a Trench,) and that the Ditch was on their Side. The Imperial Horſe ſoon forced theſe Entrenchments, and ſlew moſt of the Janizaries, the meaneſt of whom made a very brave Defence. Marſhal *de Villars*'s Buff-coat was cut in two Places with a Sabre. The Prince of *Commerci* was wounded with a Lance, called by the *Turks Copi*. Count *Sintzendorſt* was killed, and *Ligueville* wounded, with Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Gentleman. Very few Officers loſt their Lives in this Victory, the compleateſt that was wone by the Imperialiſts in all the former Wars, ſcarce coſt them four or five hundred Men. 1685.

General

1685. General *Duneval* was commanded to march with Diligence towards *Darda*, in order to cut off between *Eſſeck* Bridge and the main Body of the *Turkiſh* Army, but loſt himſelf in the Woods.

Marquiſſes *de Villars* and *de Crequi*, and the Prince of *Courland* at the Head of only eight or ten Squadrons, purſued with ſome Vigour, all thoſe *Turkiſh* Horſe, who rode off as faſt as the narrow Spot they then were in, would permit; however, they followed only ſo cloſe, as might prevent this Body of Troops who were ſeized with a Pannic from looking behind, and obſerving the ſmall Number who purſued them. They were the firſt who entered the Grand Viſier's Tents. The Marquiſſes *de Villars* and *de Crequi*, having paſſed the Night in the Field of Battle, and returning in the Morning in order to eat a Bit, met the Duke of *Mantua*, on foot, who knowing them, enquired how Matters had gone.

The Booty taken on this occaſion was ſurpriſingly rich, the *Turks* having left a prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver, as well as very ſplendid Arms and Tents; and perhaps it may not be improper to give a Deſcription of thoſe belonging to the Grand Viſier, copied from a Letter of Marquiſs *de Villars*.

Before

Before the grand Avenue of theſe Tents, 1685.
was a kind of Alley of fifty Paces in length, formed on both Sides by two Banks of very fine Trunks, of which there was a vaſt Number, piled one upon the other with great Regularity. The Priſoners informed him that this was the Treaſure of the Army. Beſides Specie, theſe Trunks held a great Number of ſplendid Robes, which are given to thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Field, whether Janizaries or others. The greateſt Number of the Grand Vizier's Tents were ſurrounded with a double Incloſure; in the firſt, made of red Linnen about eight Foot high, and ſeparated by green Columns made alſo of Linen, were a great Number of very beautiful Tents, belonging to the Grand Vizier's principal Officers.

Within another Incloſure, green Linen, of the ſame Height with the firſt, and ſeparated by Columns of red Cloth, were lodged the Tents deſigned for the Grand Viſier himſelf. Firſt, they ſaw the great Tent in which the Grand Viſier gave Audience; the Front of which was like that of a Church, ſupported by eight large Pillars bending in the Middle; and the Bri-ures were of gilt Braſs. Theſe eight Pillars

1685. lars ſupported the projection of a Tent which led to the great Tent of Audience, ſupported by a ſingle Maſt, as thick as that of a pretty large Ship. At the Entrance of the Tent there appeared, like two Trunks, with five or ſix Branches on which the Grand Viſier's Hawks and other ſporting Birds were perched. It was ſeparated by two large Curtains of gold and crimſon Brocade, raiſed on the Sides. An Alcove, about ſix Yards ſquare and half a Foot high, covered with a Flame-coloured Cloth, was fixed againſt the thick Maſt; near which, on this Alcove, was a gold and brocade Cuſhion with two more of the ſame kind, at four Foot diſtance from it. Laſtly, the Tent in which the Grand Viſier lay, was ſupported by Pillars three Foot diſtance one from the other, within the Walls of the Tent, the Top of which was in the form of an Umbrello, and was not ſupported by a Maſt. This Tent, and that where Audience was given, were lined within Side with very fine Embroidery. The Top was of gold and ſilver Tiſſue, pinked and embroidered in ſuch a Manner, that from the uppermoſt Part there darted a Luſtre, which leſſened by degrees with the Embroidery, it being only of Silk.

Moſt of the *Turkiſh* Tents have what 1685.
we call a *Marquiſes*, that is, a double Tent to keep out the Rain and Heat. Every Tent had been pitched that Morning, which ſhews that a prodigious Number of Slaves belonged to their Equipages. Marquiſs *de Villars* relates alſo in the ſame Letter, that nothing was out of its Place in their Camp; and that the Duke of *Lorrain* told him on this occaſion, he had always obſerved in the Wars againſt the *Turks*, that after the winning a Battle their Camp was ſeen compleatly pitch'd, which is never found in the Wars among the Chriſtians. And whereas in the Battles fought between Chriſtians, the Generals are often followed by a certain Number of Perſons who appear at the Head of the Army, and ſeem to give out Orders; among the *Turks*, no one appears without the Lines, ſo that 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh a General Officer on theſe occaſions; which Circumſtance, as well as their whole Conduct, proves that they are totally ignorant of the Art of War.

The Prince of *Savoy* was ſent to carry this great News to the Emperour, and to receive his Orders with regard to Projects very different from thoſe which had been formed at firſt. The Imperialiſts, before the Battle, intended only to draw out the Garriſon

1685. Garriſons from *Siclos* and *Fief-Kirken*; afterwards to raze thoſe ſmall Towns, and the ſeveral Poſts poſſeſſed by them along the *Drave*; and they ſuffered the *Turks* to re-victual *Kaniſa* and *Sigeth*, Towns of very great Importance.

But after winning the Battle they had very different Views. The Elector of *Bavaria*, in concert with the Prince of *Baden*, who earneſtly deſired to have the Armies disjoined, had Views quite oppoſite to thoſe of the Duke of *Lorrain*. The former wanted to march a ſeparate Army to beſiege *Erlaw*; but as for the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Deſigns were ſtill more juſt and extenſive, for he did not doubt but that, after theſe Succeſſes, it would be proper for the Imperialiſts to march into *Tranſylvania* in order to take *Eſſeck*; firmly perſuaded, that *Erlaw*, as well as *Caniſa* and *Sigeth*, would afterwards fall voluntarily into their Hands.

The Prince of *Baden*, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s profeſt Enemy, was of the ſame Opinion with Prince *Herman* his Uncle, Preſident of the Council of War, who was accuſed by the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Party, of having occaſioned the Miſcarriage of the firſt Siege of *Buda*.

The Emperour left every thing to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and one might eaſily ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, that after winning of ſuch a Bat- 1685.
tle, all the Glory of which was aſcribed to the Elector, he would deſire him to go and ſpend the remainder of the Campaign under the Shade of his Lawrels, and leave the little that remained to be done to the Duke of *Lorrain*; for in this manner the Emperour expreſſed himſelf, in his Letters to the Elector. He even declared, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* ſhould command a ſmaller Army near the *Drave*. As Marquiſs *de Villars* ſeemed to have no inconſiderable Aſcendant over the Elector, the Duke of *Lorrain* deſired him to diſſuade him from forming the Siege of *Erlaw*. The Prince of *Baden* likewiſe whiſpered to him, the Diſguſt he entertained againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, who did not ſpare him on any occaſion; and who, charged with ſecret Orders, refuſed to give that Prince any ſeparate Command; and even gave to General *Duneval*, who was not a Velt-Marſhal, the Army which ſeemed to belong to the Prince of *Baden*, as he was inveſted with that Dignity. The Elector ſollicited very ſtrongly, but to no purpoſe, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and left the Camp in order to return to *Vienna*, well enough ſatisfied, as he was going to enjoy his Glory in the midſt of Pleaſures; and more deſirous of gaining

1685. gaining a Name, than careful of acquiring a profound Skill in the Arts of War.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* left the Army, without taking leave of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and took the Marquiſſes *de Villars* and *Crequi* into his Poſt-Calaſh with him; after which the Duke of *Lorrain*, now ſole Commander of the Army, ſet out in order to ſubdue *Tranſylvania*, and cauſed *Eſſeck* to be taken by General *Duneval*.

From the ſeveral Letters of Marquiſs *de Villars*, ſuch Memoirs may be drawn relating to the *Turkiſh* Wars, as well as the various Characters of the General Officers of the Emperour's Army, as are highly worthy the Attention of the Public.

Marquiſs *de Villars* arrived at *Vienna* with the Prince of *Baden*; and in his firſt Audience of his Imperial Majeſty, this Prince was pleaſed to tell him, that his Generals had informed him of his Ardour, his Zeal, and the Service he had done him.

Count *de Stratman*, who was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Emperour's Prime Miniſter, becauſe of the great Truſt that Prince repoſed in him, tho' he had not the Title, was a Man of profound Senſe, and had been brought up in the Court of the Elector *Palatine*, formerly Duke of *Newburg*, Father of the Empreſs Eleonora. This Princeſs, whoſe Credit was very great,

great, had fixed him near the Emperour's Perſon. Marquiſs *de Villars* had got acquainted with him at *Berlin*, in a Journey of his to that City in his younger Years; and we have mentioned the fruitleſs Attempts made by this Miniſter, to attach, and, as it were, win him over to the Intereſt of the Emperour his Sovereign. At the return of the Campaign in *Hungary*, as the Gentlemen were drinking, in an Entertainment he gave at his Houſe, the Healths of the Emperour's Generals and Miniſters of State, he toaſted, with a loud Voice, that of Marquiſs *de Villars*, in the following Words: "A Health to the "Emperour's Generals, to his worthy "Miniſters, and to Marquiſs *de Villars*, "who having neither of theſe Characters, "has yet ſerved him very advantageouſly, "both with Head and Hand, in the laſt "Campaign. This the Emperour knows; "he is obliged to you upon that Ac"count, and commanded me to give this "public Teſtimony of it." 1685.

The Elector left *Vienna* very ſoon, on which occaſion he aſſured Marquiſs *de Villars*, that as he deſigned to enter into the ſtricteſt Engagements with his *Gallic* Majeſty, he, for that very Reaſon, had ſhortned his ſtay at *Vienna*, to avoid the urgent Sollicitations of the Emperour, who was very

1685. very urgent with him to renew their Alliance. Marquiſs *de Villars* received Orders in *Vienna*, to follow the Elector, and aſſume the Character of the *French* Envoy Extraordinaty at the Court of that Prince. The Emperour's Envoy was Count *Thaun*, Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, one of the moſt powerful Princes of the Empire.

The Elector continued to treat Marquiſs *de Villars* with great Diſtinction, and did all he could to divert him; deſiring his Company in every party of Pleaſure, and at all the private Feaſts he gave the Ladies. This Prince, fond of Diverſions of every kind, delighted in Muſic and Hunting. He was extremely polite, ſkilled in all ſorts of Exerciſes, ſo that every Day was ſpent in Carouſals, Operas, and Plays acted by the Ladies of his Court, *Italian* Comedies, and Sledge-Races during the Winter.

He was ſtruck with the Charms of one of the Electreſs's Maids of Honour, Mademoiſelle *de Zintzendorff* by Name, a Lady of exquiſite Beauty and no great Senſe, but ſo virtuous as not to grant the laſt Favours, which piqued the Elector, and enflamed him the more. However, this Engagement did not exclude ſome tranſient Amours, more ſtrong, tho' leſs affecting,

fecting, with the Camararas or Waiting-Women of the Court. Marquiſs *de Villars* from a natural Inclination, as well as his Deſire to ſerve the King, ſtill maintained the ſtricteſt Intimacy poſſible with the Elector, and had the Art of making even their parties of Pleaſure ſubſervient to his Negotiations. He therefore ſhared in every Divertiſement, and paſſed his Days very agreeably. 1685.

The Court of *Vienna*, informed of the Progreſs he made, and the little Credit Count *de Thaun* had in compariſon of that of Marquiſs *de Villars*, ſent to *Munich* Count *de Kaunits*, a Nobleman poſſeſſed of very great Abilities, and who was afterwards one of the Emperour's firſt Miniſters. As he had formerly lived in the utmoſt Familiarity with the Elector, he was invited to every grand Supper. At one of theſe this Prince, vexed by ſome Letters he had received from his Miniſter at *Rome*, ſpoke in Terms, not altogether ſo reſpectful, of the Pope, who inſtead of granting a ſmall Favour he had requeſted, had ordered his Miniſter to write to him about his Amours which ſo exaſperated the Electreſs; and to mention the prodigious Sums he ſquandered in his Pleaſures, and all this by way of Reprimand in his (the Pope's) Name: Upon which the E-

1685. lector ſaid, *What Buſineſs has his Holineſs with this? He offers Cardinals Hats to the Duke of* Lorrain's *Children, and takes it into his Head to reproach me with my Conduct, at the ſame time that I ſerve, with my Perſon as well as my Purſe, the Church and the Empire againſt the* Turks. Count *de Kaunits* replied, that in caſe he deſired it, his Holineſs would alſo offer a Cardinal's Hat to his Brother; but that, as he was to be Elector of *Colen*, he would be above that Dignity. Marquiſs *de Villars*, deſirous of making the Elector a little Angry with Count *Kaunits*, ſpoke, and ſaid, That it was injurious to the Elector to ſuppoſe that he could deſire that for no one but Prince *Clement* his Brother, and that there were not ſome Friends and Servants of his, on whom he would wiſh to beſtow it; that the Emperour had lately procured this Honour for the Chevalier *de Waleſtein*, Captain of his Guards; and that ſince the Pope offered it to the Duke of *Lorrain*, 'twas but juſt he ſhould make the ſame to the Elector, and leave to him the Nomination of the Perſon. Count *de Kauntis*, in order not to direct himſelf to the Elector who began to grow warm, and whoſe Repartees were now mixed with ſome little Anger, ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*, *On whom then, Sir, would you have*

have his Electoral Highneſs beſtow this Cardinal's Hat? On me, replied Marquiſs *de Villars*, *who would do him all the Service poſſible, in the ſacred College.* The Elector growing ſtill warmer, Count *de Kaunits* turned to Marquiſs *de Villars*, and ſaid to him with a Smile, *You ſee, Sir, the lengths to which your Ambition of being a Cardinal has carried Things.* Marquiſs *de Villars* ſmiling alſo, replied, *Firſt make me a Cardinal, and then all Matters ſhall be compoſed.* 1685.

In the mean time, he ſtill purſued his Deſign, of ſhortning as much as poſſible, Count *Kaunits*'s ſtay at the Emperour's Court; and ſucceeded ſo well, that in a Fortnight that Miniſter was obliged to return to *Vienna*, where he declared, that 'twas highly probable the Elector was deſirous of reviving the Intimacy which had formerly been between his Houſe and the Court of *France*, and that Marquiſs *de Villars* was very induſtrious in promoting it.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was alſo charged with two other Negotiations; the one was the Marriage of the Princeſs of *Bavaria* with the Prince, eldeſt Son to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, an Alliance that was croſſed by the Offer of the King of *Hungary*, which latter Match was ſo

1685. greatly advantageous in compariſon of the former, that it was no very eaſy Taſk to make it ſucceed in prejudice to the other; and nevertheleſs Marquiſs *de Villars* was able to do this, as we ſhall ſhow afterwards.

The ſecond Negotiation related to the Deſigns of Cardinal *de Furſtemberg* on the Electorate of *Colen*; and the Buſineſs was, to obtain the Conſent of the Elector of *Bavaria*, who deſired to have his Brother, Prince *Clement*, raiſed to that Electorate. His Majeſty was not yet bound by any Treaty with the Elector, but was engaged with Cardinal *de Furſtemberg*, who wanted to be elected Coadjutor, but was not yet ſure of the Voices; two Thirds of which muſt pronounce in his Favour, and he himſelf be firſt qualified to ſucceed to that Dignity.

Marquiſs *de Villars* employed the beſt Arguments he could think of, in order to win over the Elector, but the beſt were found weak. All he therefore had to do was, to tell Cardinal *de Furſtemberg*, who was ſure of the *French* Intereſt, that he had no other Buſineſs than to ſecure the Number of Voices neceſſary for his Election: Accordingly the Cardinal having ſecured the Chapter, was elected Coadjutor canonically.

The

The Elector of *Colen* dying a few Months after, as Cardinal *de Furſtemberg* was Coadjutor, it was natural for him to ſucceed to the Electorate; but the Pope being no ways favourable to the Deſires of his *Gallic* Majeſty, refuſed a Brief to this Cardinal, who thought he might ſafely hazard a ſecond Election, notwithſtanding the Advice of Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was aſſured by Perſons of Credit, that ſeveral of the Canons who had given him their Voices for the Coadjutorſhip, being diſſatisfied with the Counteſs of *Furſtemberg* for having broke the Promiſes ſhe had made them, would certainly draw off from the Cardinal's Intereſt, in caſe he proceeded to a new Election: And accordingly, ſeveral of thoſe on whom he depended moſt, abandoned him, and Prince *Clement* was elected. 1685.

In the mean time, all Things preparatory to the Elector's Re-union with the King ſtill advanced very happily. The Elector writ ſeveral Letters, with his own Hand, to his Majeſty, promiſing to engage himſelf to him by a Treaty; and in the Diet of *Ratisbon*, he took all the Steps that could be of Advantage to his Majeſty.

Marquiſs *de Villars* engaged the Elector to admit into his ſecret Confidence

1685. Chancellor *Schmit*, who had been diſcarded by the Miniſters of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. This Prince uſed frequently to tranſact Affairs with him in the Night; and Marquiſs *de Villars* never met him but at thoſe Hours, ſo that few Meaſures were taken but ſuch as were agreeable to his Majeſty.

The Court of *Vienna* ſent to *Munich* the old Counteſs of *Paar*, a Lady of great Wit, excellently well qualified for Intrigues of State, and who formerly had a great ſhare in the Elector's Confidence. She had heard of the Elector's Amour, which was not very long lived, with Mademoiſelle *de Welen*, who was ſtill concealed in the Palace, and afterwards left it as ſecretly as ſhe was brought in. This Counteſs married her to a Gentleman of *Bohemia*, upon the Terms of an hundred thouſand Crowns in Specie, which the Elector gave, and that Sum was equally divided between the old Lady, the Miſtreſs, and the Huſband; ſo that there now remained but Mademoiſelle *de Zintzendorff*, and ſome other Cameraras already mentioned, who were in no great Eſteem.

1686. The Winter was now ſpent, a Peace was not concluded with the *Turks*, and the Court of *Vienna* revived their ſecret Intrigues, to engage the Elector to return into

into *Hungary*. However, he refuſed pub- 1686.
lickly to go and ſaid, that he had already made ſo many Campaigns, that he could not go again into the Field, unleſs the chief Command of the Army were given him; and even added, (by the Advice of Marquiſs *de Villars*, who purpoſely threw in a Condition he knew would ſcarcely be complied with) not without, the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould not march on that occaſion. Now, 'twas not probable that the Emperour would deprive himſelf of the Services of ſo rever'd a General, who had been ſo ſucceſsful, and was his Brother-in-law.

Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, and Prince *Lewis* his Nephew, enforced the Elector's Requeſt; nevertheleſs, their Cabal at the Court of *Vienna* was deſtroyed by that of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and in the very Beginning of Winter, in order to keep *Herman* at a Diſtance, he was ſent to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, in Quality of the Emperour's chief Commiſſioner. *Carafa*, who Commanded in *Tranſylvania* and Upper *Hungary*, raiſed a Sett of ſecret Accuſers againſt him; who managed Matters ſo artfully, as even to raiſe ſome Suſpicions of his Fidelity.

Nevertheleſs, the Court of *Vienna*, juſtly apprehenſive of the Meaſures which the

1686. Elector might take with Marquiſs *de Villars*, offered him the moſt conſiderable Advantages, in order to preſerve him in their Intereſt. They offered him, jointly with the King of *Spain*, the ſupreme Power over *Flanders*, as the Dower of the Electreſs his Conſort, preſumptive Heireſs to the Monarchy of *Spain*; and engaged to put him in actual Poſſeſſion of it. Marquiſs *de Villars*, informed of theſe Offers by the Elector himſelf, endeavoured to make him conſider them as fatal; and to perſuade him, that ſince the whole Monarchy of *Spain* was not able to ſecure *Flanders* from the ſmalleſt Invaſion of the King's Armies, 'twould be in vain for all his Forces united to attempt it; and that he would be obliged to leave his Provinces to the Mercy of the Emperour, who, after having almoſt ruined him by the Wars of *Hungary*, would be glad to ſee him involved ſtill farther, merely to defend Countries which are no ways able to defend themſelves.

To this the Elector anſwered; *but his Gallic Majeſty does not offer me any Thing preſent or real. Hitherto*, replied Marquiſs *de Villars*, *you have required nothing of the King, but to ſupport you in your juſt pretenſions on* Auſburg, Ratisbon, Nuremberg, *and other States in the Circle of* Suabia; *and*

and he has promiſed to do this, whenever you 1686.
ſhall find a proper Seaſon to aſſert your Rights. With regard to the States of the Monarchy of Spain, *his Majeſty is not able, at preſent, to put you in Poſſeſſion of any of them.*

In the mean time, Marquiſs *de Villars* writ to his Majeſty, who ordered him to aſſure the Elector, that in caſe of the King of *Spain*'s Demiſe, himſelf and the Dauphin would engage to reſign up to him the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. The Elector required ſome farther Explanations on this Head, and deſired to know, whether the Engagement would be void, in caſe he ſhould have no Children by the Electreſs, which there was juſt Reaſon to apprehend, as well upon account of the ſickly Conſtitution of that Princeſs, as by the little Correſpondence he had with her. The King conſented to this, and by that means the Elector's Engagements grew ſtronger than before.

The Marriage of the Princeſs of *Bavaria* with the eldeſt Son of the Great Duke, was traverſed, as we before obſerved, by the Offer of the King of *Hungary*, the greateſt Match in *Europe*. However, Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was in great Favour with a very beautiful Lady, for whom the Princeſs of *Bavaria* had the

1686. Eſteem, prevailed with this Princeſs to declare, that ſhe was determined not to marry the King of *Hungary*.

The Great Duke had ſent Auditor *Sinetty*, one of his firſt Miniſters, and Father *Benfaty* his intimate Confident, to treat about this Marriage. They, above all, were ordered, to ſquare their Conduct as Marquiſs *de Villars* ſhould direct. The Monk was a Man of Wit, but vain-glorious and impudent; and upon ſome Diſputes between him and the Auditor, who was the Proxy, he told him, that he ſhould be ſent to the Gallies at his return to *Florence*. At laſt, the ſeveral Conditions of this Marriage were fulfilled, and Marquiſs *de Corſini*, one of the chief Noblemen of *Florence*, and a Relation of the Great Duke, was nominated Embaſſador Extraordinary for the Nuptials, which being ſolemnized, the Princeſs left *Tuſcany*.

The Elector's refuſing the Princeſs of *Bavaria* to the King of *Hungary*, plainly ſhowed that he was determined to break off from the Houſe of *Auſtria*. 'Twas to no purpoſe for him to plead, by way of Excuſe, the Diſinclination the Princeſs his Siſter had to this Marriage; ſo ſlender an Obſtacle as this, eſpecially in the Marriage of Sovereigns, was looked upon by

by the Court of *Vienna* as a mere Pre- 1686.
tence. They did not doubt but that the Elector was upon the Point of detaching himſelf from their Intereſt, which prompted them to make one laſt Effort to draw this Prince out of *Munich*. Count *de Kaunits* had already made five Journies thither; either to offer ſome advantageous Propoſals to the Elector, in the Name of the Emperour and of the King of *Spain*; to prevent the Marriage of the Princeſs with the Great Duke's eldeſt Son; to be preſent at the various Elections which were going forward in *Colen*; or, in fine, to engage the Elector to make the Campaign of *Hungary*. Marquiſs *de Villars* had had the good Fortune to break all the Meaſures of Count *Kaunits*, and to croſs all his Deſigns; ſo that, at laſt, the Emperour thought it would be abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſend Count *de Stratman* thither.

The Day after his Arrival at *Munich*, he dined with Marquiſs *de Villars*, on which occaſion he ſaid to him; "'Tis "not now time to offer you any Friend-"ſhip or Favour in the Emperour's "Name, and indeed, I can now aſſure "you of nothing but his Eſteem. You "are ſenſible of the high Regard I have "for you; however, this will not pre-

1686. " vent my declaring, that tho' the Em-
" perour was extremely well ſatisfied
" with your Services in *Hungary*; never-
" theleſs, in caſe 'tis in his Power, and I
" ſucceed, we ſhall not ſee you in it this
" Campaign, if the Elector thinks pro-
" per to make it."

Marquiſs *de Villars* imagined he raiſed ſuch an Obſtacle to this as was inſurmountable, by the Conditions he had obliged the Elector to demand. But the Imperial Court granted them all, and accordingly the Armies were aſſembled under the Command of the Elector of *Bavaria*, with the ſeveral Preparations neceſſary for forming the Siege of *Belgrade*. On this occaſion the Elector ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*; " It would not only be
" diſhonourable in me to refuſe ſuch a
" Poſt, but would be almoſt a Declara-
" tion of War againſt the Emperour,
" and you are ſenſible that I am not at
" preſent in a Condition to break with
" him. More time will be required for
" me to do this; but I am going to aſ-
" ſure the King, in Writing, that I am
" as ſtrongly attached to him as ever."

About this time Mr. *de Louvois*, probably grown weary of hating Marquiſs *de Villars*, whoſe only Crime was his being related to a Family which Mr. *de Lou-*

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vois no ways eſteemed; or perhaps, for we may preſume this of a great Man, that Miniſter's Eſteem being raiſed to Sentiments of Friendſhip, he was thereby prompted to write a very polite Letter to Marquiſs *de Villars*, who anſwered it in cold, but at the ſame time, reſpectful Terms. Mr. *de Louvois* wrote him a ſecond Letter, by which he deſired to be informed, what kind of Inſtrument the Chevaux de Frize were, uſed by the Imperial Foot inſtead of Pikes, which they had now laid aſide. He proceeded ſo far as to a fourth Letter, which conſiſted but of three Lines; "I cannot compre- "hend, ſays Mr. *de Louvois*, how we "happened to be at Variance. I deſire "it may ceaſe; make ſome trial of my "Friendſhip, and be aſſured that you "ſhall find me, your Servant." Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered him, that he was equally ſurprized and affected with his laſt Letter; and ſo much the more perſuaded that his Offer was ſincere, as it was the firſt Time he had given him an Opportunity to flatter himſelf with ſuch Hopes; that, in conſequence of this, he deſired he would aſſiſt him with his Intereſt; that the only way for him to recover, in the Army, the Rank he would preſume to ſay he had merited by his Ser- 1686.

vices,

1686. vices, was, to obtain for him, from his Majeſty, the Poſt of Commiſſary-General of Horſe, whereby he would be raiſed above ſeveral other Perſons, who ought not to have paſſed before him; but that to ſhow Mr. *de Louvois*, that he would owe this entirely to him, he would not make one ſingle Step, beſides that he had now taken, nor mention it to any other Perſon. This Miniſter, to ſatisfy himſelf whether Marquiſs *de Villars* had not writ about it to his Family, ſounded Marquiſs *de Villar*'s Father and Marſhal *de Bellefonds* on this Affair, but finding neither of them had heard any thing of it, he immediately uſed his Endeavours to procure him that Employment, as will be ſeen hereafter. Let us now return to what was tranſacting in *Bavaria*.

Count *de Stratman* was very urgent with the Elector to make the Campaign of *Hungary*, which the Marquiſs did not think it proper for him to oppoſe. He even adviſed him to go, but upon Condition that he were in ſuch a Station as ſuit his Dignity; adding, that his *Gallic* Majeſty never deſired that any Counſe ſhould be given him, but ſuch as migh add to his Glory; and laſtly, that hi Majeſty did not doubt but that his Elec toral Highneſs was ſo true a Judge of h

ow

Intereſt, as to deſire ſincerely the ſtricteſt Alliance with *France*. 1686.

Various Reports being ſpread concerning the Duke of *Lorrain*'s ill State of Health, the Elector ſent an Expreſs purpoſely to know the Truth of it. Marquiſs *de Villars* told him, that he ought not to truſt theſe flying Rumours; that 'twould be given out the Duke of *Lorrain* was dying, till ſuch time as the Elector ſhould be got to the Army; that the Duke would that Moment ſet out Poſt for it; and that the Elector would then find himſelf upon no other Foot than he had been all the preceeding Campaigns, *viz.* with the Appearance of a Command, but in reality a Subaltern. However, Count *de Stratman*, to remove all Suſpicions, aſſured the Elector, that tho' the Duke ſhould recover, and be able to make the Campaign, he yet would not approach the Field, and that the Elector ſhould be Generaliſſimo.

'Twas now impoſſible for this Prince to refuſe ſo illuſtrious and important a Command. The Glory of forming the Siege of *Belgrade*, and of putting an End to the War by ſo noble a Conqueſt, ſoothed his Ambition too much for him to refuſe it. Accordingly he conſented to take the Field; but the next Day,

Count

1686. Count *Stratman*, (in his ſecond Audience) after repreſenting to the Elector the great Confidence his Imperial Majeſty repoſed in him, by reſigning the Care of himſelf and of the Empire into his Hands, obſerved, that the Emperour would never allow him to keep a *French* Miniſter at his Court; that the diſregard the Elector ſhowed for a Father-in-law, who had always loved him with the moſt tender Affection, could be inſpired by none but the Enemies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; in fine, that he could not but be ſenſible, that it would be impoſſible for him to keep, in the Imperial Armies, Marquiſs *de Villars*, whoſe great Credit with him could not but interfere with the Intereſt of the Emperour, who would ſoon deſire him to quit his Dominions. "'Tis nevertheleſs, "replied the Elector, to this very Mar- "quiſs that we partly owe, not only our "Reſolution to fight this Battle, the Suc- "ceſs of which was ſo glorious and im- "portant, but are likewiſe obliged to "him, in the Action it ſelf, for adviſing "ſeveral very uſeful Evolutions. I own "all this, *replied Count Stratman*, and "my ſelf was ordered, at his return to "*Vienna*, to thank him for it in the Em- "perour's Name; but Affairs are quite "changed ſince that time."

At laſt the Elector ſet out for the Cam- 1687.
paign. Marquiſs *de Villars* followed him to *Paſſaw*, where this Prince deſired him to wait, ſaying, that he would employ all his Intereſt with the Emperour to obtain his Leave, that the Marquiſs might accompany him, but that in caſe he could not ſucceed, he then would ſend him Advice of it by a Courier. There was little or no Probability of his ſucceeding, and accordingly, the Courier arriving, Marquiſs *de Villars* embraced the Opportunity which the King gave him of returning to *France*, and reſiding there during the Campaign of *Hungary*, in caſe he ſhould not be permitted to make it. He paſſed by *Ratisbon*, where he ſaw Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, who, tho' inveſted with the Title of the Emperour's chief Commiſſioner, was in reality diſgraced. This Prince ſeemed quite oppreſſed by the ill Offices which were daily done him at *Vienna*, and firmly reſolved to quit the Service; and, indeed, he did not long ſurvive this ill Treatment.

Marquiſs *de Villars* arriving at Court, was received very graciouſly by the King, who was pleaſed to ſay, that he had always known him to be a brave Man, but did not think him ſo well ſkilled in Matters of Negotiation.

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1687. He alſo met with the moſt obliging Reception from Madam *de Maintenon*; and the very Day he arrived, ſhe took him to a Play which was performed at St. *Cyr*, before the King, on which occaſion very few Perſons were admitted.

At that time, 'twas a very great Favour for any Perſon to be allowed to attend upon his Majeſty in his Journey to *Marli*. The King uſed, at firſt, to take but very little Company with him, ſo that Marquiſs *de Villars* had not yet preſumed to requeſt that Honour. 'Twas a Cuſtom, that all who deſired it, ſhould aſk; not excepting the Great Officers of the Houſhold, and thoſe whoſe Employments could ſcarce allow them to be abſent on that occaſion. *Bontemps*, firſt Valet-de-Chambre to his Majeſty, and who had a very great Share in his Confidence, came up to Marquiſs *de Villars* in the Gallery of *Verſailles*, and cried, *So! you've requeſted to go to* Marli. Marquiſs *de Villars* declaring, that he was far from preſuming to take this Liberty; ſays *Bontemps*, I ſay you have requeſted it. *So you aſſure me that I have*, anſwered Marquiſs *de Villars*, (who found by the Air and Tone of *Bontemps*, that the King deſigned to grant him that Honour) *I have requeſted*. *Bontemps* returned immediately into

into his Majeſty's Apartment, a Moment after which the Liſt was brought out, and Marquiſs *de Villars* named in it. 1687.

Ever ſince the Time Mr. *de Louvois* had been reconciled to him, this Miniſter had endeavoured, but with the utmoſt Secrecy, to obtain for him the Poſt of Commiſſary-General of the Horſe. The Name of the Regiment of Horſe which had belonged to Marquiſs *de Villars*, was changed to that of *Anjou*, and on which occaſion it was purchaſed, by Marquiſs *de Blanchefort*, for ninety thouſand Livres. The Poſt of Commiſſary-General of the Horſe being taxed at fifty thouſand Crowns, was given to Marquiſs *de Villars*.

A few Days after, the whole Court was quite taken up with two conſiderable Advices. The firſt was, the Deſign of the Prince of *Orange* upon *Great-Britain*, which, tho' carried on with the greateſt Art and Secrecy, was nevertheleſs diſcovered by ſome of the King's Miniſters in Foreign Courts. *Barillon*, our Embaſſador in *England*, was impoſed upon on this Occaſion, as well as King *James* himſelf, which indeed that unhappy Prince was in all Things. But Count *d' Avaux*, Embaſſador at the *Hague*, had better Intelligence.

1687. The other Piece of News was, an Embaſſy from the Grand Signior to conclude a Peace with the Emperour. The Embaſſador arrived at *Belgrade*, the Day after that this Bulwark of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians had been ſtormed. *Mauro Cordato*, one of the ableſt Miniſters in the *Ottoman* Court, was at the Head of the Embaſſy. He was brought into the City thro' the Breach, ſtill covered with the Bodies of the Janizaries, who had defended it valiantly; for the *Turks*, entirely ignorant in the Science of War, defended their Strong-holds merely by their Bravery. They never valued the Covert-ways, nor all thoſe Outworks that have furniſhed our Engineers with an Art, which, in return, ſeems among us, to undertake alone the Defence of Strong-holds; ſo far, that Courage ſeems ſometimes to have ſunk on this Occaſion, and ſome of our Governours have not bluſhed to lay it down as a Maxim, that when once the Covert-way is taken, the Beſieged have no more to do but to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War. The *Turks* in the Beginning of theſe Wars, truſted wholly in the Rampart; and defended it Sabre in Hand, and with Stones, to the laſt Extremity; annoying dreadfully the Beſiegers

Beſiegers with Gun-powder-bags and Granades. 1687.

'Twas thus they ſuſtained ſeveral Aſſaults at the two Sieges of *Buda*; that they raiſed the firſt, and perhaps would have been as ſucceſsful in the ſecond, had not the Viſier who commanded it been killed in the Breach. The Court was therefore very dubious what Courſe to take, whether to ſupport King *James* who was upon the Point of being invaded, or to prevent the Peace now going to be concluded with the *Turks*, which would immediately draw down upon us the whole Force of the Emperour and the Empire.

Mr. *de Louvois*, a little after his Return from *Forges*, where he had been to drink the Waters, declared for the latter. And indeed, nothing could be of greater Importance to us, than to procure ſo conſiderable a Diverſion as that of the Grand Signior; and beſides, what Probability was there, that ſo mighty a Revolution could be brought about in *England* without the greateſt Troubles and Diviſions, which was of much greater Advantage to the *French* Intereſt, than a peaceable Government, even under King *James*: eſpecially, as the *Engliſh* when calm and undiſturbed under *Charles* II, who adhered ſtrongly to *France*, forced that Prince to declare

1687. declare War againſt us. The Siege of *Philipſburg* was therefore reſolved upon, and Preparations were made to carry on a vigorous War in the Empire. We therefore ſent light Veſſels to *Conſtantinople*, to inform the Port of our Reſolution; the utmoſt Endeavours were uſed to acquaint *Mauro Cordato* with it; in fine, we ſucceeded ſo far, that the Peace which was upon the Point of being concluded, was broke; the *Turkiſh* War was carried on eleven Years, which was longer than that ſuſtained againſt the Emperour.

General *Montclar*, who commanded in *Alſatia*, was ordered to march in the Empire, and to ſend out Detachments as far into it as poſſible. His Majeſty intruſted Marquiſs *de Villars* with the Deſign he had, to cauſe the Dauphin to beſiege *Philipſburgh*, and to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Strong-holds of the Upper *Rhine* from *Baſil* to *Mentz*. At the ſame time, his Majeſty commanded him to go to *Munich*, to continue the Negotiation begun with the Elector, who had promiſed to renew the ſtrict Engagements which the Prince his Father had entered in with *France*. As Marquiſs *de Villars* could not now take the common Road, he was obliged to paſs by *Italy*, and to diſguiſe himſelf as ſoon as he left the Frontiers of *France*.

France. He met with great Difficulties in his Journey thro' *Italy* and *Germany*; and was ſtopt three Hours, in the Night, in *Inſpruck*, where the Duke of *Lorrain* was at that Time; the Marquiſs being fully determined to go on alone, in caſe his Domeſticks ſhould be ſeized. He came out of the Poſt-Houſe, leading his Horſe by the Bridle, whilſt a *German* Servant, who paſſed for the Maſter, was quarrelling with Perſons who pretended to ſtop him. In fine, at Two in the Morning, his Servants came up with him, at the laſt Houſe of the Suburbs, where he had agreed to wait for them; and after riding from *Borgoforte*, on the *Po*, to the firſt Village in *Bavaria*, without once ſtopping except to take a little Refreſhment, he arrived at *Munich*. 1688.

Marquiſs *de Villars* expected to find very great Changes in the Elector's Mind as well as in his Court. This Prince had been during five Months, either at the Head of the Armies of the Emperour or of the Empire, or reſiding in *Vienna*. He had enjoyed the ſupreme Command of the Army appointed to beſiege *Belgrade*, notwithſtanding 'tis certain, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, tho' he did not lie in the Camp, as had been agreed, was not above five or ſix Leagues from it. His great Attach-

1688. Attachment to the Emperour's Intereſt, had prompted him to conſent to every Thing that might pleaſe the Elector. Thus, this Prince owed the Glory of the Conqueſt of *Belgrade*, to the Emperour's having made choice of him. Theſe were the ſtrongeſt Motives of Gratitude and Re-union. Moreover, Prince *Clement* his Brother, had been choſen Elector of *Colen*, in ſpite of all the Intrigues of Cardinal *de Furſtemberg*, tho' poſſeſſed of *Bonn*, and protected by his Majeſty.

But on the other Side, the King's Armies were in the midſt of the Empire, and the Elector's Forces were in *Hungary*, in the midſt of thoſe of the Emperour. The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and the Dukes of *Hanover* and *Wirtemberg* had juſt agreed by Treaty, to quarter in *Franconia* and *Suabia*, and to ſurround the Elector's Dominions. Thus the Elector ſaw himſelf obliged to declare one way or other, without having had the leaſt Time to prepare for it. Perplexed with the various Fears which the Dilemma he was in muſt raiſe in his Mind, he ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*, *I continue in the ſame Diſpoſitions with regard to the King as I aſſured him when you left me; but how will it be poſſible for me to follow them? His Majeſty offends me directly, in the Perſon of my Brother,*

ther, who was recognized Elector by the Pope, by the Emperour and the Empire. He invades all the Dominions of the Empire, and I am an Elector. 1688.

Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered, *'Tis indeed true that the King makes War, but then he does it in no other view than to ſecure Peace, ſince 'tis on that Condition he offers to reſtore all his Conqueſts; after which, his Majeſty will leave the Emperour at full Liberty to continue a War, which may give him the Poſſeſſion of all the* Turkiſh *Dominions in* Europe. *Be you the Mediator of this Peace, ſave the Empire; and add to the Glory you have lately atchieved againſt the* Ottoman *Empire, that of having given Peace to* Europe.

Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons the Elector was ſtill wavering. His Dominions being hemmed in by thoſe of the Princes who were united againſt *France*, would not permit him to run any hazard, when Advice was brought him of the taking of *Philipſburg*, and that our Army was advancing towards the *Danube*. He now was ſeized with another kind of Fear, and even ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*; *Had I my Troops, and we could join them to yours, we then might perhaps ſtrike a Fear in thoſe who make us afraid.* Upon this, Marquiſs *de Villars* was very urgent with the King

1688. to order his Forces to march towards *Ulm*, during which he did all that lay in his Power to keep up the Elector's Uncertainty, and to prevent him, as long as poſſible, from declaring. He even did more, for on a Report being ſpread at *Munich*, that the King's Army was approaching near *Ulm*, the Elector being moved, ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*, *Were my Forces not in* Hungary *where the Emperour ſtill detains them, we would poſſeſs our ſelves of* Suabia, *and would eaſily get the better of thoſe of* Saxony, *of* Brandenburg, *and of the Circles.*

Marquiſs *de Villars*, knowing that this laſt Reflection aroſe from the Apprehenſions he was under from the King's Army, in like manner as that of the Emperour had before raiſed his Fears, diſpatched a Courier to his Majeſty, in order that the March of the Troops towards *Ulm* might be fixed. However, the *French* had, by this time, reſolved to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Rhine*; and the Dauphin had ſeized upon *Manheim*, *Frakendal*, *Wormes*, *Spires*, *Mentz*, and of all the little Stong-holds on this Side of that River. By this means, as the Elector was now ſecure on that Side, and conſequently not afraid of the *French* Arms, he joined with the Emperour; and the *Bavarian* Forces returned towards

towards *Donawert*, at the very time that Marquiſs *de Feuquieres*, at the Head of ſeven or eight hundred Horſe, ſpread the utmoſt Terror throughout all *Franconia*, and ſent Detachments to the very Gates of *Nuremburg*. 1688.

The Elector, ſollicited very ſtrongly by Count *de Kaunits*, commanded his Troops to intercept, if poſſible, thoſe of Marquiſs *de Feuquieres*; and thinking to ſurprize Marquiſs *de Villars*, and make him uneaſy, he informed him of it a few Hours after; pleading in excuſe, the Complaints and Murmurs of the *Germans*, to ſee ſeven or eight hundred Horſe laying the whole Empire under Contribution, at the ſame time that three thouſand *Bavarians* ſuffered them to go unmoleſted. But Marquiſs *de Villars*, without diſcovering the leaſt Emotion, anſwered the Elector with a Smile, *The Imperialiſts are not very Sollicitous about your Cavalry: All they deſire is, that you would declare your ſelf.* *Nor am I*, ſays the Elector, *apprehenſive that eight hundred Horſe can do any great Hurt to my Cavalry. But have not thoſe Gentlemen*, replied Marquiſs *de Villars* with a reſolute Tone of Voice, *ſpoke to you of three thouſand of his Majeſty's Troops, and of a Detachment of Granadiers, three Leagues behind them? Can you believe, Sir,*

1688. *that our Generals are ſo injudicious as to ſend eight hundred Horſe into the Heart of a Country, without ordering them to be ſuſtained by four times as many? This is the very Thing I obſerved to Count* Kaunits, replied the Elector immediately. *Count* Kaunits, replied Marquiſs *de Villars, does not value your three thouſand Horſe: All he deſires, is, for you yourſelf to declare.* Theſe Anſwers of Marquiſs *de Villars*, which he had made at Random, and without having the leaſt Advice of Marquiſs *de Feuquiere*'s being ſuſtained, as he really was not, produced the Effect he expected from it; a Counter-order was ſent to the *Bavarian* Troops, which ſaved thoſe of his Majeſty, and retarded the Elector's Declaration, for which the Imperialiſts were very urgent.

Marquiſs *de Villars* deſired, by Letter, *Feuquieres* and Baron *de Monclar* who commanded the King's Forces in *Wirtemberg*, to act with greater Caution for the future, ſince that he, very probably, would not have it again in his Power to keep back the *Bavarians*; that he had once over-reached them, but did not believe he ſhould ever have an Opportunity of doing it a ſecond Time.

Nevertheleſs, the Elector, tho' engaged with the Emperour, was very unwilling to break entirely with his Majeſty; and

Prince

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was obliged to go in Perſon to *Munich*; and this Prince did not ſcruple to confeſs to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that the only Motive of his coming thither, was in order to oblige him to leave it. The very Day of his Arrival, a Feſtival was celebrated at *Schleiſſem*, on which occaſion there was a Sledge-Race. Marquiſs *de Villars* was uſed to partake in all theſe Diverſions, but he was not invited to this; and at the Elector's return from it, he ſeemed in ſome little Confuſion. The next Day, Mr. *Ledel*, one of his chief Miniſters, came to Marquiſs *de Villars*, and ſaid to him, that as the *French* carried Fire and Sword into all Parts of the Empire, 'twas not in the Power of an Elector to forbear oppoſing it any longer; nor even to ſuffer a Miniſter of *France* to reſide at his Court, for which Reaſon the Elector requeſted him to withdraw, and that in three Days. *You rather are ſent*, replied Marquiſs *de Villars*, *in the Name of the Prince of* Baden, *and of the Emperour's Miniſters, to whom you have always been devoted, than in that of your Sovereign. I will do my ſelf the Honour to wait upon him; and can ſcarce believe, that he will acknowledge your Commiſſion.* Hitherto the Miniſters of *Bavaria*, upon account of the Friendſhip their Sovereign 1688.

1688. diſcovered for Marquiſs *de Villars*, had treated him with the utmoſt Reſpect; and the Miniſter in queſtion trembled as he ſpoke to him. He returned to the Elector with all imaginable Diſpatch, and nevertheleſs the Marquiſs got thither before him.

The Elector, ſurprized to ſee him, and being afraid he would enter upon Topicks no ways agreeable to him, withdrew immediately into a little Cabinet; however, Marquiſs *de Villars* followed, ſhut the Door after him, and continued alone with the Elector.

This Prince ſcarce knew what to ſay, for there is a ſort of Timidity which has nothing do do with Courage, and is able to baffle the moſt exalted Valour. Marquiſs *de Villars* obſerving this, ſaid to him, *So, Sir; I find your Highneſs is now entirely ſubdued by the Imperialiſts, and bound more ſtrongly than ever in Chains, which you often have done me the Honour to declare were very weighty. The Elector, your Father, had left you fifteen or ſixteen Millions in Specie; and you owe very near that Sum; but the Emperour will put you in a way to pay off all your Debts. 'Twould be to no purpoſe to recapitulate the ſeveral Advantages which your Highneſs confeſſed muſt neceſſarily accrue to you, and which had prompted*

you

you to give in Writing to his Majeſty and the Dauphineſs, the moſt poſitive Aſſurances that you would never abandon his Intereſt. I never deſired you to declare againſt the Emperour; but as a Neutrality had been ſo advantageous to the Houſe of Bavaria, *why do not you obſerve it, at leaſt, till ſuch time as you find 'tis a Burthen to you?* 1688.

The Elector's Anſwers were very dark and very intricate; but as he did not revoke the Departure of Marquiſs *de Villars*, the latter left *Munich*, and travelled in Sledges over the Snow; and, eight Leagues from thence, met with Count *de Luzignan*, in his return from *Vienna*, where he had reſided in quality of the Emperour's Envoy. The Emperour had allowed him a Guard, beſides all the neceſſary Paſſports; and Marquiſs *de Villars*, with the like Paſſports, was attended by one of the Elector's Trumpets. They were followed by a great Number of *Frenchmen*, ſo that theſe and their Domeſticks, made a Train of more than three hundred Perſons.

The Troops which the King had ſent into *Suabia*, left it at the ſame time. Several Parties had levied Military Contributions, and ſet Fire to many Villages, very far within the Empire; and all the People thro' whoſe Countries they were to

1688. paſs, were exaſperated even to Fury. Marquiſs *de Villars* thought it ſafeſt to ſhun the great Cities, whoſe Magiſtrates are not always able to quell the Inſolence of the Populace; and beſides, were in ſome meaſure authorized to treat the *French* ill, becauſe of the wild Havock theſe had committed, and which Fame had made much greater. He imagined, that it would be more ſecure to lodge only in Villages, where they would always be the ſtrongeſt, and could not be inſulted; unleſs Troops ſhould be ſent, or the Populace ſpirited up againſt them. But as they had Paſſports, an Eſcort, and Trumpets, with which the Emperour and the Elector had furniſhed Count *de Luzignan* and himſelf; they afterwards were of Opinion, that theſe would be a ſufficient Protection, and that none of the Commandants of the Enemy, would dare to violate the Law of Nations, in their Perſons, or their Train. They travelled in this manner till they arrived, at Two in the Afternoon, at *Bregentz*. Marquiſs *de Villars* was determined to croſs the *Rhine* the ſame Day, and reach *Switzerland*. They even had notice that an Officer of the Duke of *Wirtemburg* who had come up with them, riding Poſt, was gone to inform the Commandant of *Bregentz*.

gentz of their being in that Town, ſo that all things prompted them to retire as ſoon as poſſible to ſome Place of Safety. Beſides, nothing prevented their doing this; the Governour of *Bregentz* could not draw above twenty Men out of his Caſtle: Not fifteen of the Inhabitants of this Village had Arms; and Count *de Luzignan*, and Marquiſs *de Villars* had upwards of three hundred Men. However, Count *de Luzignan* inſiſted ſo ſtrongly upon ſtaying, that Marquiſs *de Villars* after uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to diſſuade him from his Reſolution, at laſt conſented to it. 1688.

About four in the Evening, Marquiſs *de Villars* looking thro' his Window, ſpied a Company of People, under Arms, advancing forward from the neighbouring Villages, and heard ſeveral ill-ſounding Country Drums beating in the Fields. Theſe were ſix or ſeven hundred Peaſants who aſſembled in the Village of *Bregentz* in leſs than two Hours warning. And now the Commandant of the Caſtle, finding himſelf the ſtrongeſt, ſent for their Paſſports in order to examine them. They were very good, but that Evening he attempted to quarrel with them; his Officers declaring they would examine every

1688. one of the Company, and know all their Names.

They were at Table, when armed Soldiers came, with an Air of Inſolence, into the Room. Marquiſs *de Villars*, ſmiling, ſaid to Count *de Luzignan*, *The Dignity of Embaſſadors is a little invaded: Heaven keep us from worſe.* At Day-break, as the Servants were ſadling their Horſes, and brought them out, the ſame Soldiers turned them again into the Stable. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſeeing himſelf arreſted, ſent, with his Secretary, Marquiſs *de Chaſſonville*, a young *French* Gentleman, formerly Page to the Elector of *Bavaria*, to the Commandant of *Bregentz*, to remonſtrate, that he ſhowed a manifeſt Contempt to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in arreſting a Miniſter who was retiring from his Court with a Trumpet and good Paſſports from that Prince. At the ſame time, he ordered them to beſtow Money liberally on the Commandant's Secretary and his Domeſticks: By this means thoſe he had deputed brought back, at nine in the Evening, an order from the Commandant to permit Marquiſs *de Villars* and his whole Train to paſs on: But Count *de Luzignan*, and all his Attendants were arreſted, and he himſelf was confined eight Months in a Caſtle in *Tirol*.

Marquis

Marquiſs *de Villars*, having thus eſcaped, as it were, out of the Emperour's Priſons, and at a Time when a new War was breaking out, (how affecting a Circumſtance for him!) thought himſelf infinitely happy. He immediately travelled into the *Swiſs* Territories; arrived in St. *Gall*, about five in the Evening; and was preparing to compenſate, by a good Night's Reſt, all the bad ones he had paſt ever ſince his leaving *Munich*, when the Magiſtrates arrived to pay their Compliments to him. After hearing the Speech, he now fancied himſelf ſure of ſleeping very ſound, when thoſe Gentlemen ſeated themſelves, and began a Diſcourſe. Some time after, word was brought him, that Proviſions were coming from all Parts, and that a ſumptuous Entertainment was getting ready. 'Twas to no purpoſe that he repreſented to them his extreme Wearineſs, the prodigious occaſion he had to take a little Reſt; and therefore he intreated them to ſpare their Entertainment; but his Requeſt was not ſo much as heard, ſo that about Midnight, a grand Supper was ſerved up. There was a vaſt Profuſion of Pheaſants; *Milan* Capons, with gilded Bills; all ſorts of Sweatmeats that *Genoa* furniſhes, theſe Gentlemen being reſolved that nothing ſhould be ſpared. A Multi- 1688.

1688. tude of People were admitted in; and the Magiſtrates diſtributed, among their Relations and Friends, the ſeveral Dainties with which the Tables were loaded. At laſt, about three in the Morning they all withdrew, and Marquiſs *de Villars* heard of no one but the Landlord, who preſented him a large Sheet of Paper; and made him pay an extravagant price for the Entertainment which the Magiſtrates had given their Family and Acquaintance.

He left St. *Gall*, very ill ſatisfied with the paſt Night, and croſſed *Switzerland* at a great Expence; for all beg in that Country. Beſides, the People are intolerably rude; and Travellers are often accoſted by Peaſants, who deſire Money to drink with ſuch an Air, as will hardly allow the Donor the leaſt Merit for his Liberality. Marquiſs *de Villars*, intending to lie at *Hunningen*, at Marquiſs *de Puyſieux*'s, made all the Diligence poſſible; and yet did not arrive at *Baſil*, till the very Inſtant they were ſhutting up the Gates.

Marquiſs *de Villars* had diſpatched a Meſſenger before him, to deſire that the Gates of *Baſil* might be kept open; but either from the aukwardneſs of the Perſon whom he ſent, or the Lumpiſhneſs of the

Swiſs, the Marquiſs had like to have loſt his Life. The Night was vaſtly dark, 'twas dreadful Weather (the ſixth of *January*;) when his Attendants growing very impatient at their being kept ſo long out, quarrelled with the *Swiſs* Centinels who were on the Rampart. Marquiſs *de Villars* advancing to ſilence them, he loſt his Feet on a ſudden, and fell into the *Foſs* of the Place that was lined and very deep. He had a very dangerous Fall. He endeavoured to anſwer ſuch of his Attendants as were ſtraining their Throats, but was unable to ſpeak; ſo that they concluded him to be dead, and he himſelf was afraid that he had burſt all the Fibres of his Stomach. However, he ſpoke a quarter of an Hour after, and anſwered thoſe who had given over all Hopes of ever ſeeing him alive. 1688.

Very happily for him, he had changed his Boots at Dinner; and inſtead of *Hungarian* ones which he generally wore, the Severity of the Weather had obliged him to put on large Hunting-boots, with ſeveral pairs of Stockings; he alſo had cloathed himſelf in a furr'd Gown, and [illegible] that a Cloak. As he fell on his [illegible] his Boots kept him from breaking [illegible]gs. He endeavoured to riſe up in [illegible]s, but the Pain was ſo violent, that he

1688. he ſunk down again. At laſt, they let down the Rope by which Letters are taken in, and two Men ſliding down into the *Foſs*, tied him under the Armpits, in order to draw him out; but in pulling, the Rope, in which only a ſlip-knot had been made, almoſt ſtrangled him; when the Men who were at the Top of the *Foſs*, ſtooping, took him by one Arm, and drew him quite out. He was laid in the Centry-box, where, by giving him Brandy, they kept him from ſwooning away with the Pain; and after having continued ſix Hours in this Condition, without there being a Poſſibility of getting the Gates opened, they laid him at full length, on two Planks, and carried him to a Tavern, called *Sauvage*, in the City.

The Marquiſs was immediately viſited by a great Number of Phyſicians and Surgeons. He was laid along a Table, to ſee whether there was no Fracture. He was prodigiouſly bruiſed, but nothing was broke. After this he was carried in a Boat, to *Hunningen*, to Marquiſs *de Puyſieux*'s, who was Governour of it. Here he had a violent Fever, a whole Week; when being a little recovered, tho' very weak, he was put into two Vedelins, ſmall Boats, joined together, in order to go down the *Rhine* to *Straſburg*.

he was obliged to reſt himſelf three or four Days, after which he went Poſt to *Mentz*, where Marſhal *de Bouflers*, who commanded in thoſe Frontiers, detained him alſo ſome Time. 1688.

He was obliged to take ſome Phyſic in this City, the Fever ſtill hanging about him. At laſt, he waited upon his Majeſty, who did him the Honour to tell him, that he entertained too favourable an Opinion of Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Star, to believe that he could loſe his Life, in the *Foſſes* of the City of *Baſil*: He was appointed to command the Cavalry in the Army of *Flanders*, of which Marſhal *d'Humieres* was nominated General; Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, not having yet been able to efface the ill Impreſſions which ſtill remained in the King's Mind, upon account of the Affair for which he had been impriſoned in the *Baſtille*. This General, whoſe Character and Genius have ſhone at the Head of Armies, and had won ſeveral Battles, had been arreſted by the Machination of Court Cabals; thrown into the *Baſtille*; kept a cloſe Priſoner, and interrogated upon ſeveral Matters as tho' he had been a Criminal.

That which had firſt given occaſion to this, was, a Writing ſigned by him, by which he impowered certain Wretches, who

1688. who promiſed to raiſe the *Devil*, to conjure in his Name. 'Tis ſaid, that this Writing had been artfully extorted from Marſhall *de Luxemburg*; and indeed, 'tis ſcarce poſſible to conceive, that a Man who headed Armies, could have amuſed himſelf with ſilly Superſtitions, fit to enveigle none but weak, female Minds. However, it cannot be denied, but that Marſhal *de Luxemburg* had given ſome Occaſion for the Imputation of theſe Follies. He was the profeſſed Enemy of Mr. *de Louvois*, who had involved him in the black Accuſations which had obliged the Counteſs *de Soiſſons* to leave the Kingdom, as alſo the Ducheſs *de Bouillon*, Marchioneſs *d' Halluye*, and many more. They were accuſed of Poiſonings and of Witchcraft. One *Voiſin*, a Woman famous for ſeveral Incantations, was ſeized. Mr. *de Luxemburg*, and all the Ladies abovementioned had been at her Houſe. 'Tis even pretended, that the Duke *de Nevers* had ſhowed to his Sister ſome Years before, the Count of *Soiſſons* dying. In fine, a Chamber of Juſtice was erected; and on the Reports that prevailed of Poiſonings, the Public could not but wiſh that the utmoſt Severity might be ſhown on this Occaſion, to prevent the ſpreading of Crimes in *France*, which were grown

little known in that Kingdom. *Brain-villiers*, that cruel Wretch, who had deſtroyed part of her Family, was ſeized in *Liege*. To conclude, a few Truths and a great Number of Falſehoods, involved many innocent Perſons with a very ſmall Number who were really guilty. 1681.

After this Digreſſion, on the Reaſons which had loſt Marſhal *de Luxemburg* the Command, who doubtleſs had the greateſt Abilities for it; we ſhall obſerve that that of *Flanders* was appointed for Marſhal *d' Humieres*, a very brave Man, extremely witty in Converſation, and an agreeable Companion, but who had ſtudied the Arts of Courts more than thoſe of War. And indeed he was not upon a Level with the greateſt Generals; and ſome Errors he committed this Campaign, were very much aggravated by his Enemies. The Enemy's Army, under General *Waldeck*, aſſembled behind *Mons*; and the different Movements which they made, were rather to procure Subſiſtance, than to come to Action. In the mean time, the Enemy croſſed the *Sambre*; and Marſhal *d' Humieres* marched towards them, which gave occaſion to the Attack at *Walcour*, (*Valencourt.*) We ſhall reſume the Sequel of that Campaign, after having given a ſhort Character of the Generals of that Time.

We

1688. We have already ſpoke of the Reaſons which had loſt Marſhal *de Luxemburg* the Command of the Armies. Marſhal *de Schomberg*, whoſe Abilities were ſuppoſed equal to that Command, had left the Kingdom for the ſake of the Proteſtant Religion, the Exerciſe of which the King was determined to ſuffer no longer in his Dominions. The Proteſtant Churches had been pulled down; the Edict of *Nantz* revoked, and a great Perſecution which enſued, had forced a prodigious Number of Families out of the Kingdom, which on that occaſion received a Wound that will bleed for many Years, as the Government thereby loſt a numberleſs Multitude of Subjects, many of whom were diſtinguiſhed by their Fidelity, their Riches and Induſtry, all which they carried into foreign Countries, to the great Prejudice of *France*.

Marſhal *de Schomberg* went firſt into *Portugal*, afterwards to *Brandenburg*, and from thence entered into the Service under King *William*, and was killed at the Battle of the *Boyne* in *Ireland*.

Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, fallen out with the Court, but eſpecially with Mr. *de Louvois*, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in his Diſgrace, had no Employment.

Marſhal *d' Humieres* was appointed to command the Army in *Flanders*, and Marſhal *de Duras* that of *Germany*. Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, who had greater Abilities, but was for ever at Variance with Mr. *de Louvois*, finding that Generals had been nominated to Command the principal Armies, waited upon that Miniſter, and deſired to be excuſed from ſerving. His Requeſt was granted with pleaſure; ſo Marſhal *de Navailles* was ordered into *Roſſillon*, and Marſhal *de Lorge*, without Forces, or very little occaſion for his going, was ſent into *Guienne*. 1688.

To give then ſome little Account of the Characters of theſe Generals: Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, who doubtleſs had the greateſt Abilities, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a great Number of very ſucceſsful Engagments, not to mention his fine Senſe and diſtinguiſhed Bravery, was not poſſeſſed of that Aſſiduity which is indiſpenſably neceſſary for the Conduct of an Affair of ſo much Importance, as that of heading an Army. He could judge excellently well at firſt Sight; in an Action, he formed a moſt perfect Judgment of the Motions of the Enemy, and gave out, with Juſtneſs, Exactneſs, and Diſpatch, thoſe which his own Troops were to obſerve. Theſe his excellent Qualities ſhone in

1688. in a great Number of Engagements. But as he concerned himſelf very little with military Projects, 'tis pretended that he did not attend ſufficiently to the Advantages which might be drawn from the great Succeſs of a Project. Theſe great Qualities, and this Defect, have been found in moſt of the Battles in which he commanded.

Marſhal *de Schomberg* had ſignalized himſelf very much in the Wars of *Portugal*. He did not command in the Armies of *France* till he was very far advanced in Years; ſo that, poſſibly, Age might increaſe a Slowneſs which ſeemed born with him. He was a Man of good Senſe, was reſolute, tenacious of his Reſolutions, and ſevere in the Command. His Prudence, in the Counſel he gave not to attack the Prince of *Orange* near *Valenciennes*, was thought very injudicious; as alſo in his Inactivity, when the Prince of *Orange* retired before him, upon his abandoning the Siege of *Maeſtricht*.

Marſhal *de Belleſonds* enjoyed ſo ſmall a ſhare of the Command, that little can be ſaid of his Talents for War. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Employment of Lieutenant-General. No one could deny but that he was a Man of fine Senſe. He was valiant, and ſpoke extremely well on

military Matters; but relying on the Goodneſs and Favour of his Sovereign, he diſpiſed the Miniſters, who all conſpired his ruin; and he himſelf gave them ſeveral Opportunities to effect it, of all which they immediately took Advantage. 1688.

Marquiſs *de Villars* never ſaw Marſhal *de Duras* either ſerve or command. He, and Marſhal *de Lorge* his Brother, were Nephews to Mr. *de Turenne*, who had always uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to raiſe his Family. He employed all his Credit to procure them the higheſt Employments they could aſpire after; and theſe two Brothers were raiſed to Honours, Dignities, and the moſt exalted Poſts, without having done Services which ſeemed to claim ſo conſiderable a Reward. Marſhal *de Lorge* was very famous for his Courage when but a Subaltern. After the Death of Mr. *de Turenne*, he had the chief Command of the Army in conjunction with Marquiſs *de Vaubrun*, a very bold, [illegible] Man. He was, in ſome ſort, the Miniſter's Creature, in an Army entirely devoted to Mr. *de Turenne*, who was his profeſſed Enemy. For this Reaſon, *Vaubrun* was hated and Marſhal *de Lorge* beloved; and to the latter was aſcribed all the Honour of the Battle of *Altheneim*. Marquiſs *de Vaubrun* had received a very deep

1688. deep Wound a few Days before, notwithſtanding which, he ſhared in the Action, and continued in it till he loſt his Life.

His Majeſty's Army having repaſſed the *Rhine*, all things ſeemed to favour Count *de Lorge*. But the Court, unwilling to raiſe him to the Dignity of Marſhal of *France*, ſent Marſhal *de Duras*, then in *Franche Comté*, to take upon him the Command of the Army; ſo that Count *de Lorge* was not created Marſhal of *France* till the Winter following.

However, ſcarce was he at the Head of Armies, but the Merit he had acquired in ſubaltern Employments, was cruſhed by the Weight of the chief Command, which really was above his Genius. 'Twas a Misfortune to all the Generals abovementioned, that they ſucceeded the two moſt famous Men of their Age, the great *Condé* and Viſcount *de Turenne*; and thoſe who had ſerved under theſe illuſtrious Perſonages, diſcovered ſo great a Difference, that they could ſcarce prevail with themſelves to ſubmit to that Subordination, which their Dignity and Command required. However, we muſt except Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, whoſe great Qualities could not be obſcured by the little Aſſiduity which was aſcribed to him; by his Weakneſs for his Favourites, and a kind of

of Fickleneſs no ways becoming a great Man. 1688.

This little Deſcription we have given of the Generals, who commanded in the War which began in 1688, and ended in 1697, gives a ſufficient Idea of their Capacities. 'Tis certain, that *France* ſhould naturally have gained the greateſt Advantages, eſpecially in *Germany*, from the happy Diſpoſition of our Frontiers, we having five Bridges over the *Rhine*; as many Strong-holds which ſet open to us the Empire, that was covered only by a very weak Army, and which often was headed by indifferent Generals; not to mention that the Emperour was obliged to employ his beſt Troops and his ableſt Generals, in his Wars againſt the *Turks*.

We now return to the Campaign of 1689, and to thoſe particulars which relate to Marquiſs *de Villars*, whoſe Life and Memoirs are our chief Object. 1689.

Marſhal *d' Humieres* had no other view than to cover the Frontiers; and the Court ſeemed to have no other Deſign, than to let the Enemy exhauſt themſelves, by the Efforts they made to beſiege *Mentz*. During this, Marſhal *de Duras* compleated a Work, which we may juſtly affirm was directly oppoſite to the Glory of the Nation,

1688. tion, and even to that of a very good, and very great Monarch.

His Majeſty, whoſe Goodneſs was certainly never ſufficiently known, had been brought to a Perſuaſion, that the Safety of his Kingdom conſiſted in making all the Country between our Frontiers and the Enemy's Army, a Deſert. For this purpoſe, in oppoſition to our own Intereſt, and the Rules of War, we had burnt the large Cities of *Triers*, *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Heidelberg*; a numberleſs Multitude of others of leſs note; and the richeſt and beſt Counties in the World. We had extended this pernicious view ſo far, as to forbid any Perſon to ſow Seed four Leagues on either Side of the *Maes*.

'Tis ſcarce poſſible to conceive how theſe horrid Counſels came to be given. Marquiſs *de Louvois*, a Man of vaſt Parts, did not oppoſe, but inforced them to his Majeſty, in ſpite of his Goodneſs, which, I again declare, was extreme. Theſe Orders were given, followed, and executed with a Rigour, which will be for ever a Reproach to the braveſt Nation in the Univerſe.

Marſhal *de Duras* was employed in ſetting Fire again and again to all Places, for our Troops burnt even the Vaults, nor was a ſingle Church ſpared. However,

the King's Juſtice and Piety were ſo great, 1689.
that ſeveral were rebuilt afterwards; but
ſtill, the Evil was paſt remedy.

The Campaign therefore in *Germany*, paſſed in ſeeing *Mentz* taken; and in *Flanders*, nothing was performed but a few inconſiderable Movements. Marquiſs *de Villars*, vexed to ſee himſelf the Commander of ſo glorious a Body of Horſe without coming to Action, propoſed ſeveral Parties, which did not pleaſe Marquiſs *d' Humieres*; Endeavours were even uſed to ſet him at variance with that General, and his good Intentions were all defeated. The Enemy undertook a dangerous Forrage. Marquiſs *de Villars* was going to attack the Eſcorts of it, when the Chevalier *de Tilladet*, Lieutenant-General of the Day, would not permit him. In another, made by our own Troops, a Party fell upon our Forragers. Marquiſs *de Villars* charged, and took them all Priſoners; on which occaſion, the young Prince *de Rohan*, was wounded with a Muſket-ſhot. He was extremely brave, and died ſome time after of his Wound. In fine, the Enemy having come and encamped near *Walcour*, (a ſmall City, but ſurrounded with ſtrong Walls) at a little Diſtance from the Head of their Camp, Marſhal *d' Humieres* thought he might carry

1688. carry this Poſt, and accordingly attacked it, without firſt taking a proper view. We loſt at it, the Chevalier *Colbert*, Brigadier and Colonel of *Champagne*; and three Captains of the Guard. Marquiſs *de St. Gelais* was alſo killed by a Ball, ſo that this unfortunate Attack was of prejudice to Marſhal *d' Humieres*.

Some time after, 'twas thought that we were in a Condition to cannonade the Enemy's Camp. A Draught of it was ſhown; and at Day-break, our Cannon being drawn up, it appeared that that of the Enemy was ranged much more advantageouſly; that that part of their Camp which had been expoſed the Night before had been removed in the Night; ſo that they gave us a ſalvo of thirty pieces of Cannon, before ours had began to fire.

This Campaign, as the Reader has ſeen, was not very glorious. The Duke *du Maine* did not give an advantageous Account of it to the King; ſo that Marſhal *de Luxemburg* was appointed to command the Army the next Campaign.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ſpent the Winter in viſiting the Cavalry. His Majeſty and the Miniſter put the greateſt Confidence in him, the Inſpectors being commanded to follow him ſeverally in the Extent of his Inſpection. He was commiſſioned to

change ſuch Majors as he found unfit for their Poſts; to nominate Captains to ſucceed them; to examine the bad Officers in every Corps, and to rid the Cavalry of them. 1689.

His Majeſty appointed him Marſhal de Camp at the cloſe of 1689; and he was ordered to ſerve in the Army which was to be commanded by Marquiſs *de Bouflers* with Count *Tallard*; and the Marquiſſes *d' Harcourt* and *de Teſſé*, who alſo were Marſhals de Camp.

This Campaign was not diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable Event; and the Army of Marquiſs *de Bouflers*, which was deſigned to guard the Middle of the Frontiers, between the Armies of *Germany*, under the Command of the Dauphin; and that of *Flanders* commanded by Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, did not once come to Action. Marſhal *de Villars* was ſo much diſpleaſed at this Inactivity, that he deſired to ſerve as Volunteer for a few Days; and at a Time when it appeared, by the Motions of the Armies of *Germany*, that there would be a Battle. Marquiſs *de Bouflers* would not let him go, repreſenting to him, that he would certainly be reprimanded by the Court, in caſe he ſhould quit, without Leave, the Poſt he was in, merely to go and march in another Army.

1689. In fine, whether from Sorrow, or a natural Effect, he fell ſick in *Ardennes*, and ſo violently that his Life was deſpaired of. Marquiſs *de Bouflers* himſelf, being obliged to leave the Camp of *Oberſdorff*, when Marquiſs *de Villars* was ſeemingly expiring, left two Regiments of Dragoons by way of Guard. However, an Emetic and the Vigour of his Conſtitution ſaved him, and he was carried to *Arlon*, and thence to *Sedan*, where he received Orders from Court to go and Command in *Flanders* during the Winter, under Marquiſs *de Bouflers*. Upon the Report of his being at the Point of Death, Marquiſs *de la Valette* ſued for his Command, and obtained it. But recovering ſo well as to be able to ſerve again, Marquiſs *de la Valette* was ſent to the Frontiers of *Picardy*.

1690. In the Beginning of 1690, the Court ſent orders to Marquiſs *de Bouflers* to march an Army, behind *Bruſſels*, leaving it to the Left. Marquiſs *de Villars* was commanded to paſs the *Dender*, at the Head of ſeven or eight thouſand Men, and to march directly for *Bruſſels*. Accordingly, he aſſembled, very ſecretly, all his Forces under *Tournay*; and ſet out in a very ſevere Seaſon, having a pretty ſtrong Fever upon him, which, however, he

he did not mention, for fear leſt his Friends ſhould oppoſe the Reſolution he had taken, not to entruſt another with this Command. Tho' it was manifeſtly dangerous for him to go upon this Expedition, in a very ſevere Seaſon, and with a Fever upon him, he neverthleſs went and encamped at *Grammont*. This Fever, which aroſe from a very violent Cold, ſtopt with the latter, which he removed by taking a large Quantity of burnt Brandy, and three Hours ſleep. 1690.

Advice was brought Marquiſs *de Villars*, that Count *de Verſaſſine* had aſſembled 2500 Horſe two Leagues from *Grammont*. He marched againſt him, and came up with him at three Leagues from *Bruſſels*. Count *de Verſaſſine* drew up his Troops behind a Rivulet; and Marquiſs *de Villars* ordered Mr. *de Vendeuil*, Marſhal de Camp, and *Dachy* a Brigadier, to ſound the Paſſage, whilſt himſelf went up the Rivulet, to take the Enemy in Flank. However, his Order was not well executed; and, *Verſaſſine* finding Marquiſs *de Villars* was going to intercept him, left three Troops on the Bank of the Rivulet, and retired; the Soldiers who were commanded to preſs hard upon him, not advancing a ſingle Step after him. Thus, this Body which might have been defeat-

1690. ed, loſt only the three Troops which they ſacrificed to their Retreat. Some Days after, it being a very hard Froſt, a Reſolution was taken to croſs the Canals above *Ghent*, and to enter the *Pays de Vaas*. Eighteen or twenty thouſand Men took two different Routs. Marquiſs *de Villars* with the Forces drawn out of *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Doway* and *Liſle*, leaving the * *Lis* to the Left, which he croſſed at *Diſne*; and Marquiſs *de Bouflers*, at the Head of all the Forces drawn from *Dunkirk*, *Ypres*, and other Strong-holds, marched directly on the Canal, from *Ghent* to *Bruges*. The Ice being very hard, they croſſed the Canal; and Marquiſs *de Villars* entered the *Pays de Vaas*. By this march, the King got four Millons by Contributions, without the loſs of one Man. The Troops returned afterwards to their reſpective Garriſons, where they were ordered to repoſe themſelves, till the opening of the Campaign.

We muſt not omit here the Battle of *Staffarda*, fought the eighteenth of *Auguſt*. After a bloody Engagement which laſted ſix Hours, the Duke of *Savoy* was forced to leave the Field of Battle, on which three thouſand lay dead, beſides a great Number of Priſoners. A little after, Mr. *de Catinat* appeared before *Saluzzo*, which

* A large River in *Flanders*.

made

made but a weak Reſiſtance. The other little Fortreſſes, after the example of the laſt mentioned City, ſoon opened their Gates to the Conqueror, who ſoon after marched and beſieged *Suſa*, which he won as eaſily as he had done *Saluzzo*. 1690.

At the ſame time that *Piedmont* ſubmitted to Mr. *de Catinat*'s Army, *Savoy* was laid waſte by that commanded by St. *Ruth*, a Man more odious for his Severities than [illegible]s for his Victories. In this manner, the Duke of *Savoy* ſaw his Dominions torne from him; his only refuge conſiſting in a few Citadels which ſtood by him, under the Ruins of which that Prince was reſolved to bury himſelf, rather than yield.

One of the moſt remarkable Events of this Year, is the Battle of the *Boyne*. Here two Kings were ſeen in Arms one againſt the other, the one being the Father the other the Son-in-law, in like manner as *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, antiently, in the Plains of *Pharſalia*. The Prince of *Orange* gave an entire defeat to the King of *Great-Britain*'s Army. Marſhal *de Schomberg*, who had left *France* after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, and commanded under King *William*, was killed in this Engagement. Not long after, *Dublin* opened it's Gates to the Conqueror.

1691. In the Beginning of 1691, his Majeſty concerted, with the greateſt Secrecy, all his Meaſures for beſieging *Mons*. This City was vaſtly ſtrong, of great Importance, and defended by a large Garriſon. The Prince of *Gremberg* was Governour of it; and Lieutenant-General *Fagel* commanded the *Dutch* Troops there. Marſhal *de Boufflers*, and Marquiſs *de Villars* were the only Perſons appointed to inveſt it, and none but themſelves were let into the Secret. It was neceſſary to conceal this Project from the Enemy, and annoy them in ſo many different Places at the ſame Time, that it might be difficult for them to penetrate the real Deſign.

Theſe Forces began to move, as early as the firſt of *April*, on the *Maes* in *Hainault*, in *Flanders*, and towards the Sea: when the Enemy, not knowing our Views, left the uſual Garriſons in all the Towns which were menaced. Marquiſs *de Villars* was commanded to inveſt *Mons*, on its moſt dangerous Side, *viz.* that of *Bruſſels* and *Ath*, by which only the Enemy could throw Succours into it. He marched from *Conde*, leaving the River *Aine* on his Right. Marquiſs *de Crequi* commanded, under him, the Troops that were to inveſt *Mons*; but he ſtrayed in ſuch a manner, that in the Beginning of the

the Night Marquiſs *de Villars* had but five Squadrons; ſo all he could do was to poſt himſelf, within an hundred and fifty Paces from the Gate of *Mons*, which led to *Bruſſels*, to prevent, as far as he was able, any one from going into *Mons* in the Night-time. At Day-break, Marquiſs *de Crequi* came up with the Troops; when Marquiſs *de Villars* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Village of *Nimy*, where was the Abbey of St. *Denys*, and all the principal Avenues to the abovementioned City; cut off, and barricaded all the Roads, and began to draw the Line of Circumvallation. The Pioneers came up the third Day. Before this, conſiderable Parties of Horſe, and Detachments of Granadiers had appeared; but none of them dared to force the Avenues; ſo that, before the fourth Day, the Poſts were taken, and entrenched in ſuch a manner, that they did not fear any Attack but from an entire Army. 1691.

The Prince of *Orange* went in great Diligence to *Bruſſels*, where he appointed the Rendezvous of all the confederate Forces. His Majeſty arrived at the Siege, and all the proper Diſpoſitions being made, by the Care of Mr. *de Louvois*, whoſe great Abilities made him not omit any, whether with regard to the aſſemb-

1691. ling of an Army, or for ſecuring Proviſions and Ammunitions of all kinds; the Trenches were opened the ninth Day from the firſt inveſting of the Place. The Prince of *Orange* was approaching with a conſiderable Army; and the King, diſcourſing with ſeveral General Officers and Marquiſs *de Louvois*, with regard to the Deſign which the Prince of *Orange* might have in view; many were of Opinion, that he would attempt a General Engagement, when Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaid, *'Tis my Opinion he will not.* His Majeſty aſking him why? *Villars* anſwered, *For this Reaſon; becauſe 'tis better to do nothing than to do wrong; and that your Majeſty's Meaſures are ſo well concerted; the Poſts ſo advantageous and ſo ſtrongly entrenched; your Troops are ſo much ſuperiour in Number to thoſe of the Enemy, that you may only wiſh the Prince of* Orange *would attack you.*

Marquiſs *de Louvois* was vaſtly well pleaſed to ſee this Opinion ſupported; for the Courtier would fain perſuade the King, that the Miniſter had ventured his Glory and his Perſon; and to ſay the Truth, no Enterpriſe had ever been formed with greater Judgment, or better Methods taken to render the Succeſs of it infallible.

The

The Enemy made but a very weak De- 1691.
fence, and not a ſingle Attack was ſucceſsful. The Horn-Work was attacked and carried; but, whether the Materials for our People to entrench themſelves therein had not been brought ſoon enough, [illegible]y ſome Remiſſneſs of a Detachment of Guards, the Enemy got again into it. However, it was retaken very eaſily a few Hours after; and Marquiſs *de Villars* being [illegible]f the firſt who entered it, found *Conſtant*, a Captain of the Granadiers of the Regiment called *des Vaiſſeaux*, ſtill breathing; but very dangerouſly wounded, the Enemy having left him as dead. This was the only Action fought at the Siege of *Mons*. The King loſt but very few Men, who then returned to *Verſailles*, and was pleaſed to expreſs great Satisfaction to Mr. *de Villars*, for the Services he had performed.

The Troops were ſent again into their reſpective Garriſons, and in quarters of Forrage in the ſeveral Strong-holds of *Flanders*, of the *Maes*, of *Picardy*, *Champagne*, of *Eveche*'s, and ſo near one another, as to give an opportunity of drawing together again the Army, and to take the Field, as ſoon as the Enemy's Motions ſhould oblige them to it.

1691. They alſo ſent their Troops into diſtant Quarters; and a Reſolution was taken, to bombard the City of *Liege*, and throw red-hot Balls into it. Marquiſs *de Boufflers* was appointed to head this Expedition, and Marquiſs *de Villars* ordered to ſerve in this Army, which was poſted on the Hills towards * *la Chartreuſe*. A great Number of red-hot Balls were thrown into the City, but did little execution. The Fort of *Chenai*, about half a League from the City, being guarded by five hundred Men, Marquiſs *de Villars*, as he was walking among the moſt advanced Guards, obſerved that the Troops in that Fort were in ſome Motion; when judging that they were going to abandon it, as they ſeemed to leave it with great Precipitation, he took the firſt Piquets of Horſe and Foot, who were at the Head of the Camp, and then marching in great Diligence towards them, the five hundred Men were all killed or taken Priſoners. This was the moſt remarkable Event in this Expedition.

Our Troops were ordered to ſet fire to the Suburbs as they retired; nevertheleſs, Marquiſs *de Villars* who commanded the Rear-guard, moved by the Dictates of

* In the Mountains of *Dauphiné*.

Humanity

Humanity which was natural to him, 1691.
ſaved them from Deſtruction, fifteen or
ſixteen Houſes excepted, which he had
no opportunity to preſerve. Marquiſs *de*
Bouflers was ordered to march back his
Army near *Dinant*, which he did in four
Days. They repaſſed pretty near *Huy*,
poſſeſſed by the Enemy; and as the Army
was coming into the Camp marked out
for it, Advice was brought to Marquiſs
de Bouflers, that the Enemy, who were
pretended to be ſtrong on the other Side
of the *Maes*, intended to croſs it at *Huy*,
and attack him in his march, which was
almoſt impoſſible, becauſe of the great
Diſtance between him and the Prince of
Orange, who was ſaid to be near *Lorrain*;
not to mention, that an Army cannot
paſs a River, ſuch as the *Maes*, over a
ſingle Bridge, or in ſo ſhort a Time. Ne-
vertheleſs Marquiſs *de Bouflers*, on this
Advice, intended not to let the Troops
encamp, but would have them march
forward.

Marquiſs *de Bouflers*'s Reputation, with
regard to Valour, was ſufficiently eſta-
bliſhed, but he was accuſed of Irreſolu-
tion; and, indeed, we often ſee Men who
are perſonally intrepid, ſeized with a kind
of Fear, when entruſted with the ſupreme
Command of an Army.

Marquiſs

1691. Marquiſs *de Villars* repreſented to Marquiſs *de Bouflers* that this Counter-march would not be approved, as there was no Neceſſity for it. The latter acquieſc'd with his Reaſons, ſo that the Army was ordered to encamp; and Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaved his Friend from committing a haſty Action which would have been blamed.

Orders were given to break up before Day, and the Army march'd a great many Leagues. Having Parties about *Huy*, we regulated our Motions on certain Advices, without diſcovering a needleſs Fear, Marquiſs *de Bouflers* was obliged to Marquiſs *de Villars*, for his good Advice.

The Army arrived at *Dinant*, and reſted three or four Days. The preceeding Campaign, the Marquiſs *de Calvo*, formerly Lieutenant-General, who died in the Winter, had headed the ſecond Army in *Flanders*, which was before under the Command of Marſhal *d' Humieres*. The King now beſtowed it on Marquiſs *de Villars*, who received his Commiſſion, and Inſtructions for that purpoſe, in the Camp near *Dinant*. Thus he had the Command over all the Forces in Garriſon, from *Tournay* to the Sea; beſides fifteen Battalions and thirty Squadrons, with a Train of Artillery. He was appointed to defend

fend the Lines, which cover the whole Country from the *Scheld* to *Dunkirk*. In general, he was to obey Marſhal *de Luxemburg*; but in certain caſes, his Majeſty had given him Orders to act independently on that General. 1691.

He came to *Tournay*, and aſſembled his little Army between *Cambrin* and * *Pont des Pierres*. He then writ to Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, and explained to him by ſeveral juſt military Reaſons, that the only Method for a General to defend Lines, is to ſeize, if poſſible, ſome advantageous Poſt, intrenched without the Line; in order to oblige an Enemy, who intends to attack the Lines, to determine his Attack either to the Right or Left; ſince the Diſadvantage of commanding over a large Extent of Country, is the not being able to know where the true Attack may be made; and that the Enemy, by ſpreading an Alarm in different Places, obliges the Commander who ſtands upon the Defenſive, to divide his Forces, which conſequently muſt weaken them every where. This Diſpoſition made by Marquiſs *de Villars* was approved by Mr. *de Luxemburg*, and it prevented Marquiſs *de Caſtanaga* from making any Attempt, tho' he

* *Pont d'Espierres.*

was

1691. was marching towards him with a ſuperior Force.

The Diſpoſition abovementioned was of great Advantage to Marquiſs *de Villars*; for as his Country was covered, and he, conſequently, not paying any Contribution, he obliged that of the Enemy to furniſh him Proviſions of every kind. So that Marquiſs *de Caſtanaga* had the Mortification to ſee Waggons, from the Territories ſubject to the *Spaniards*, daily croſs his Camp, and bring in Hay and Oats to that of Marquiſs *de Villars*.

His Majeſty's Army commanded by Mr. *de Luxemburg*, only obſerved the Motions of that of the Prince of *Orange*.

About the Beginning of *September*, Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, was of Opinion, that he might go into Forrage-Quarters, towards *Ninove*, and lodged his Army in a very fruitful Country.

To ſecure to himſelf Proviſions and his Convoys, he ſent Word to Marquiſs *de Villars* to poſt himſelf, with the greateſt Part of his Troops, towards *Renai*; in order that every Thing which came out of *Tournay*, might paſs ſafely to Mr. *de Luxemburg*'s Army. The Enemy threw 2500 Horſe into *Oudenard*; and one Day, as a Convoy of near four thouſand Waggons was paſſing; Marquiſs *de Villars*

Villars poſted himſelf as advantageouſly as he could poſſibly, in order to cover it; but the Train was ſo long, and extended over ſo much Ground, that 'twas very difficult for him to ſecure every Part of it. 1691.

The Enemy came out of *Oudenard*; attacked the Convoy in two Places, and took the Horſes out of ſome of the covered Waggons. However, Marquiſs *de Villars* haſted to that Part in ſo much Diligence, that the Enemy was every where repulſed, and the Convoy brought off happily.

Marſhal *de Luxemburg* deſired Marquiſs *de Villars* to come to him, in order that they might concert the moſt proper Meaſures for ſecuring the Proviſions.

Marſhal *de Luxemburg*'s Army, as we obſerved, was very well encamped; having a great Abundance of Corn and Forrage; all the Troops provided with Barracks; the General in ſo happy a Situation as gave him an Opportunity of making the nobleſt Cheer; having *Campine* Chickens, *Ghent* Veal, excellent *Engliſh* Oyſters; in a word, a great profuſion of Dainties of every kind. We mention theſe Trifles, becauſe Marſhal *de Luxemburg*'s Enemies would ſometimes ſay, that Things of this kind had ſome little Influence

1691. fluence over his Reſolutions. Marquiſs *de Villars* finding the Marſhal extremely well ſatisfied with his Situation, took the Liberty to ſay to him, "But may not the "Prince of *Orange* come and encamp "near *Ath* and *de Ligne*, and conſequently "force you in an Inſtant, from this delicious "Encampment"? Marſhal *de Luxemburg* declared it would be impoſſible for ſeveral Reaſons, when *Tracy* who was in the Field with three hundred Horſe, ſent word, that he believed he ſaw the Head of the Columns of the Enemy's Army. We would have flattered our ſelves that 'twas only a Forage; nevertheleſs, a ſecond Expreſs coming from *Tracy* to confirm the former, we mounted on Horſeback; and from the firſt riſing Grounds diſcovered the Enemy's Army really marching on the Side of *Ath*; and before two in the Afternoon, it was ſeen to extend along the little Rivulet *de Ligne*. Marquiſs *de Villars* returned with great ſpeed to his Camp, and kept his Soldiers upon the watch all Night, and at Day-break he drew nearer again to the *Scheld*. Marſhal *de Luxemburg* was obliged to do the ſame, and to abandon a Camp, where we had ſpent five or ſix Days in furniſhing our ſelves with a Profuſion of all Things,

Things, and was forced to march the Army under *Tournay*. 1691.

Marſhal *de Luxemburg* was vexed to have miſtook in his Meaſures, and this little Uneaſineſs gave occaſion to a great Action which was fought two Days after. Marſhal *de Luxemburg* received Advice, that the Prince of *Orange* had left the Command of the Army to Count *Waldeck*; and that it was to march the 20th of *September*, in order to encamp in the Plain of *Cambron*. He believed it would be poſſible for him to attack the Rear-guard, ſo ſent Orders to Marquiſs *de Villars*, to march that Inſtant with four Battalions, the Regiments of *Merinville*, and *Teſſé*'s Dragoons, in order to join him under *Tournay*. Marſhal *de Villars* found him in an Abbey near *Tournay*, where he lay all Night on Straw, and giving Orders to ſixty Squadrons to mount. He told Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he had formerly defeated a Rear-guard, which all were unanimouſly of Opinion he could never overtake; but that knowing the Enemy did not always take the Precautions neceſſary; and that, by making great Diſpatch, they poſſibly might come up with thoſe who thought themſelves out of Danger, he therefore ordered Marquiſs *de Villars* to go before with the ſix Squadrons, and the four Battalions.

1691. talions. He added, that he would meet in the Road to * *Leuſes*, *Marcilly*, an Enſign of the Horſe-guards with four hundred Horſe; and deſired the Marquiſs, to make uſe of him, to keep as cloſe as poſſible to the Enemy; but above all, not to fail ſending him Advice, the Inſtant he ſhould diſcover them, of all Things he ſhould obſerve with regard to their Diſpoſitions.

Marquiſs *de Villars* commanded Brigadier *Boiſſelot*, to bring up the four Battalions with as much Diligence, as was poſſible for Infantry to make; and he himſelf advanced, with ſix Squadrons, on the Rout, where *Marcilly* was advancing. At eight in the Morning, he ſpied *Marcilly* at a League's Diſtance from him, and thereupon ordered Marquiſs *d' Aubijoux*, a Brigadier, to follow with his ſix Squadrons, when he himſelf made all imaginable haſt towards *Marcilly*, with whom he came up, and found his four hundred Horſe drawn up in order of Battle, and obſerving the march of the Enemy's Army, the greateſt Part of which had paſſed the Rivulet *de Leuze*. He informed *Marcilly* of Mr. *de Luxemburg*'s Deſign, for which purpoſe, (he ſaid) he muſt endeavour

* Or *Lyeſſe*.

deavour to amuſe the Enemy. *Marcilly* was half a League from them; and, not knowing the real Deſign of Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, he kept at ſuch a Diſtance as gave him an Opportunity of obſerving them without expoſing himſelf to Danger. 1691.

Marquiſs *de Villars* made him advance, and commanded the ſix Squadrons he headed, to follow at about a thouſand Paces diſtance. He himſelf brought up *Marcilly*'s four hundred Horſe within five hundred Paces of the Enemy, who ſeeing ſo ſmall a Body of Horſe, made a halt. Marquiſs *de Villars* obſerving this, thinned the Ranks of theſe little Squadrons, and brought eight Troops in ſight. The Enemy ſuppoſing the Troops advancing towards them, were part of a Body conſiſting of two thouſand Horſe, commanded by Mr. *de Beſons*, in the neighbourhood of St. *Guilain*, they ſpread over a larger extent of Ground, as tho' they ſought to attack with greater Advantage.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ſent Orders to Marquiſs *de Toiras*, who commanded theſe ſix Squadrons to approach, and draw them up in a Line. The Enemy continued to form themſelves, and that Moment Mr. *de Luxemburg* arrived with the utmoſt ſpeed; having commanded the Brigade of the

1691. the King's Houſhold to follow upon a hard Trot, and he himſelf came up with Marquiſs *de Villars*, who ſaid to him, "You wanted to engage a Rear-guard; "I have ſtopt it this three quarters of an "Hour, and you now may do as you "pleaſe." Mr. *de Luxemburg* anſwered, "I come with an Intention to fight; "whilſt your firſt Line, replied Mar- "quiſs *de Villars*, is forming, I'll go and "reconnoitre a little the Right of the "Enemy." *Doger* ſpoke firſt to the Marſhal, and ſaid, "The Enemy grow more "numerous: If you intend to charge "them, this is the Moment." *Villars* ſaid the ſame, and Mr. *de Luxemburg* ſpoke only theſe Words, *Come on, let us Charge*; and immediately ſent *Doger* to the Right. Marquiſs *de Villars* returned with the utmoſt ſpeed to the Left, and as he was riding along the Front of the Light-Horſe, he cried to *Vatteville* who was at their Head, "I am going to be "hemmed in by three or four of the E- "nemy's Squadrons, is it not poſſible for "you to ſpread?" They now were come up ſo near to the Enemy, that they had nothing to do but charge thoſe who were before them. Marquiſs *de Villars* made only the ſhort Speech following to *Merinville*'s Squadrons; "Friends; you beat "them

" them heartily laſt Year, and will do 1691.
" the ſame again." All the Troopers
replied, in a proud Tone, *We will beat them.* Marquiſs *de Villars* put himſelf at the Head of the firſt Squadron; Marquiſs *de Toiras* at the Head of the Second, and Count *de Merinville* at the Third. They then marched up to the Enemy, and perhaps a more furious Onſet was never ſeen. 'Tis very unuſual for Squadrons to be ſo long engaging, without flinching; but theſe would never give Ground, till the firſt and ſecond Rank were cut to pieces. This Line was defeated, and that which ſuſtained it gave way of it ſelf; but of *Merinville*'s three Squadrons, which conſiſted of no more than three hundred and ſixty Troopers, one hundred and ninety were diſabled, and twenty-ſix Officers out of thirty-two. Marquiſs *de Toiras*, after receiving ſeveral Wounds, was ſlain. Marquiſs *de Villars* had no other Armour than a double Buff-coat, and his Handkerchief under his Hat, which ſaved his Life; for his Buff-coat, his Hat, *&c.* were pierced in ſeventeen places, and his Body untouched. His Horſe drew him from this Onſet, and afterwards fell.

To return to the general Action. The Squadrons of the King's Guards, defeating all who oppoſed them, were very much

1691. much annoyed. *Doger*, a Lieutenant-General, *Neuchelles* who commanded his Majeſty's Guards, *La Troche*, Marquiſs *de Rotelin*, and a Multitude of Serjeants, *&c.* were killed. Marquiſs *d'Alegre* was wounded, with many more.

Marquiſs *de Villars* marching back his Left Wing, led it into the Intervals of a ſecond Line which was juſt arrived on a full Gallop; for two Lines had been attacked by one. The firſt Squadrons that *Villars* met were thoſe of *Quadt*. The Colonel, on his arrival, was for charging thoſe of the Enemy which were neareſt him, but Marquiſs *de Villars* obliged him to ſtop. A little after, there came up the Squadrons of *du Maine*, *de Rohan*, *de Prâlin*, and ſeveral more, where we formed a Line which extended beyond that of the Enemy; and indeed, they ſuſtained the Charge but very faintly, and were repulſed to the Rivulet. We now returned back; when Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, who found himſelf coming up with the Enemy's Army, which was returning with great ſpeed; and full three Leagues diſtance from his with ſeventy Squadrons only, had now nothing to do but retreat. Such was the Battle of *Leuſes*, very glorious for his Majeſty's Forces, ſince eighteen Squadrons beat near fifty of thoſe of the Enemy.

Enemy. The Loſs, however, was near equal; and Glory was the only Advantage the Victor gained. 1691.

We arrived at *Tournay* about ſix in the Evening, when Marſhal *de Luxemburg* and the chief Officers went to the Play. No General was ever of ſo facetious a Temper. He loved Carouzing, Gaming, and Pleaſures of every kind; but then, he ſuffered his Favourites to gain an arbitrary Aſcendant over him; and the ill uſe they made of it raiſed him oftentimes Enemies, tho' he was naturally kind and beneficent. We did not mention the Duke *de Chartres*, a Volunteer in this Action; who, being naturally very brave, was very uneaſy that he was not preſent in the greateſt Danger. But tho' he had not then an Occaſion to diſplay all his Ardour, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf very glorioufly the following Campaigns at *Steinkirk*, *Nerwinde*, and other Places, in which he had an Opportunity of ſhowing his Courage. Marquiſs *de Villars* was obliged to this Duke for having made the moſt honourable mention of him in the Account he ſent of the Battle of *Leuſe*: And indeed, 'twas his Agility that ſtopt the Enemy's Rear-guard, and always led on the Left Wing to the Charge, with great Advantage, againſt the Right of the Ene-

1691. my, which extended four or five Squadrons beyond it. On the other Side, Marſhal *de Luxemburg* highly applauded the Marquiſs's Conduct; but as he was at Enmity with that General's Favourites, who had a conſiderable Hand in the Relations, thoſe ſent by Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, did not take notice, that Marquiſs *de Villars* had been chiefly inſtrumental in bringing on the Battle, and that the Succeſs of it was principally owing to him.

The Army was lodged in Forrage-Quarters till the 20th of *October*, a Seaſon in which Campaigns generally break up, except upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion.

His Majeſty's Arms were not ſo ſucceſsful in *Ireland*, where *James* II. had ſtill a conſiderable Party, and was poſſeſſed of ſeveral impotent Strong-holds, and *Limerick* among the reſt. The King, who ſupported the Efforts that Prince made, to return into his Dominions, gave him twelve Men of War and three thouſand Soldiers, with all the Proviſions neceſſary as well for theſe Troops as thoſe of *Ireland*. They made a Deſcent at *Limerick*, under the Chevalier *de Neſmond*. In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange* reſolved to beſiege it, and accordingly the Trenches were opened the 5th of *September*. The Beſiegers,

Beſiegers, after making a vigorous De- 1691.
fence, deſired, (*Oct.* 3.) a Ceſſation of
Arms, which was granted them for three
Days, in order to confer on the Capitula-
tion, the Articles of which were not a-
greed on till the 13th; and the 14th, *Boiſ-*
ſelot who defended the City, ſurrendered
it to the *Engliſh*.

Count *de Châteaurenaud* brought away, on board the *French* Ships, all the *French* Forces, with the Garriſon of *Limerick* conſiſting of fifteen thouſand *Iriſh*, purſuant to the Capitulation, the Articles of which are of ſo ſingular a kind, that they perhaps are not to be parallelled in Hiſtory; for they ſeem rather as ſo many Conditions granted by the Conqueror to a City that ſurrenders, than thoſe it preſcribes to it ſelf, and forces the Enemy to accept.

Marquiſs *de Villars*, who had been abſent from the Court ſome Years, deſired leave to ſpend a Fortnight in it. He met with a very gracious Reception from his Majeſty, who appeared extremely well ſatisfied with his Services.

One of his firſt Endeavours was, to ſecure the Friendſhip of Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux*, who, tho' very young, was the only Miniſter for War, and conſequently had it in his Power either to do great

1691. Service or no leſs Prejudice. Marquiſs *de Villars* had a perfect Harmony with him at firſt, but a few Months after, two or three of his Favourites growing jealous of Marquiſs *de Villars*, this Friendſhip changed to ſo violent a Hatred, that he very narrowly eſcaped being totally ruined by this young Miniſter.

During Marquiſs *de Villars*'s ſhort ſtay at Court, he received Advice of the Death of *Abbé de Villars* his Brother, who had juſt quitted the general Agency of the Clergy. He died young, in *Florence*. He was a Perſon of a diſtinguiſhed Merit in his Profeſſion, and his rare Talents would ſoon have raiſed him to the chief Employments of it. Theſe two Brothers had always the ſtrongeſt Friendſhip for each other, and Marquiſs *de Villars* was always ſenſibly affected with his Death.

He returned into *Flanders*, which Marquiſs *de Bouflers* quitted a few Days after; and, during his Abſence, left him the general Command over the Frontier, which Marquiſs *de Villars* went and viſited. At *Tournay*, he received the Prince Royal of *Denmark*, who afterwards ſucceeded to the Throne. This Prince was then on his Travels, and was treated with the utmoſt Magnificence by Marquiſs *de Villars*.

Marquiſs

Marquiſs *de Villars* took up his Quar- 1691.
ters at *Ypres*, where Marquiſs *de Bouflers*, at his return from Court, came to him, when ſome Letters brought thither by a Courier, gave him great Uneaſineſs. He was ordered to ſurprize *Oſtend*; a Project, formed by ſome Engineers, and ſent to Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, who, not loving Marquiſs *de Bouflers*, was very well pleaſed to employ him on a very dangerous Enterprize. The Marſhal threw him thereby into a great Dilemma, *viz.* either to refuſe a Commiſſion the King gave him, or to attempt a moſt difficult and hazardous Enterprize. In this Perplexity he conſulted Marquiſs *de Villars*. They examined all the Plans of this Deſign, without omitting any of the Expedients which might render it practicable. They would be obliged to croſs two Arms of the Sea; and it was neceſſary that it ſhould be Ebb juſt at dark Night, without which it would be impoſſible for them to approach unperceived; and, beſides this critical Hour to favour them, they were to croſs very narrow *Downs*, which extended to the Foot of the Baſtion, up which they would be obliged to climb; and which, the Perſons who gave the Advice, declared was very ill guarded. This double Obſtacle was too ſtrong an Argu-

1691. ment againſt the Enterprize; and it was judged impracticable, becauſe of the Length of the Way, and the Difficulty of the Paſſages. Marquiſs *de Bouflers* proved the Impoſſibility of ſucceeding in this Attempt, and his Majeſty approved the Reaſons.

The Contributions had been very well ſettled laſt Winter, ſo that the Army might lie ſtill this Seaſon. Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, who after the Death of Marquiſs *de Louvois* his Enemy, recovered his Credit with the King, named the general Officers for the Army of *Flanders*. He had endeavoured, the preceeding Campaign, to diſpoſſeſs Marquiſs *de Villars* of his Command in *Flanders*, but the King would not agree to it. The Marſhal therefore ſought another Opportunity, and made, the want the Army of *Germany* was in for a General of Horſe, a pretext for it.

Count *d' Auvergne*, Colonel-General of the Horſe, having deſired to go and command that of *Flanders*; being beſides, a Friend of Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, who was reconciled to all who had been Mr. *de Louvois*'s Enemies; Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered, ſo early as *April*, to prepare for the Campaign in *Germany*. He ſpent three Weeks either at *Paris* or the Court; and

and afterwards went to the Camp at *Flonheim* near *Mentz*, where Marquiſs *de Lorge* had aſſembled his Army. 1690.

The ſame Year died Marquiſs *de Louvois*, the mention of whom we have reſerved for this Place. He had for ſome time been very much at Variance with Madam *de Maintenon*, who had the entire Confidence of his Majeſty. Mr. *de Louvois* was a very indifferent Courtier, and often combatted, without the leaſt Ceremony, the Sentiments of that Lady, as well as oppoſe the Protections ſhe granted; ſo that he often took notice (as he was tranſacting Affairs of State in concert with the King, which was always done in Madam *Maintenon*'s Apartment) of his Majeſty's Animoſity to him, which was ſo much the more inſupportable, as he imagined he had done great Services.

One Day the King ſpoke in ſuch harſh Terms to him, that *Louvois* roſe up haſtily, and throwing down ſome Papers, cried, *'Tis impoſſible for a Man to ſerve you.* His Majeſty roſe alſo, and went towards the Chimney, where he uſually laid his Hat and Cane. Madam *de Maintenon*, imagining that, as he went up to the Place where his Cane lay, he poſſibly might make uſe of it, ran up to him. This Precaution was needleſs with regard to a

1691. Prince, whoſe Wiſdom and Moderation were well known. *Louvois* left the Room, firmly reſolved to reſign his Employment; but Madam *de Maintenon* writ to him next Morning, and deſired him to come in the Afternoon, at the Hour he uſually tranſacted Buſineſs in her Apartment; and then, not to complain or excuſe himſelf to his Majeſty; in a word, not to diſcover any thing in his Behaviour, which might recall what had happened the Evening before. But *Louvois* was extremely afflicted. He was drinking the *de Forges* Waters; and going to the Palace, at three in the Afternoon to do Buſineſs, he was taken ill; returned home that inſtant; ſet down as ſoon as he was got in, and crying, *I am out of Order*, immediately expired. *Fagon*, who afterwards was his Majeſty's chief Phyſician, was of Opinion that *Louvois* had been poiſoned; however, this was not the general Belief. The King made young *Barbeſieux*, then but ſeventeen or eighteen, Secretary at War. Mr. *de Torcy*, who was ſcarce older, was in the ſame Employment for foreign Affairs, which made the Prince of *Orange* ſay, that he was ſurprized his Majeſty had ſuch antiquated She-Friends, and ſuch young Miniſters. We don't mention the Character or Talents of Mr. *de Louvois* in this

this Place, as we have already ſpoke ſo largely of him in the Courſe of theſe Memoirs. 1691.

At the opening of the following Campaign in *Germany*, an Affair happened of a very ſingular kind, relating to ſome Deſerters. A Brigadier belonging to *de Souternon*'s Regiment fled to the Enemy; and informed them that a pretty conſiderable Convoy was coming from *Alſey* to the Army. The Enemy, upon this Advice, ordered a thouſand Horſe from *Mentz*, in order to attack the Convoy. At the ſame time, a Huſſar deſerted, from the Enemy, to us, and informed us of their Deſign upon our Convoy. Immediately a Detachment was ordered out, to ſecure the march, when the Head of our Detachment met that of the Enemy, and defeated the firſt Troop, in which *Souternon*'s Brigadier engaged. He was taken with a ſmall Number of Troopers and was broke alive upon the Wheel the next Day. Thus, this reciprocal Deſertion endangered and ſaved our Convoy. 1692.

Some Days after, upon Advice that a conſiderable Part of the Enemy's Army which was on the other Side of the *Rhine* had croſt it at *Mentz*; Marſhal *de Lorge* who put great Confidence in *Melac*, a Marſhal de Camp, ſent him with five

1692. hundred Horſe to make exact Enquiry whether the Enemy had croſs'd at *Mentz*, as was reported. Nothing could be more eaſily known, ſince 'tis impoſſible for a little Army conſiſting of Infantry, Cavalry, and Ordnance, to conceal it ſelf after having paſt the *Rhine*. Nevertheleſs, *Melac*, relying on a Magiſtrate of the Country who impoſed upon him, came back and aſſured Marſhal *de Lorge* that it was a falſe Report. A Quarter of an Hour after, Advice came, that the Report was not only true, but that this little Army was marching towards *Worms* with the utmoſt ſpeed. *Melac* was aſhamed, and breathed his Fury in the moſt dreadful Oaths, with which it was cuſtomary with him to frighten the Vulgar.

The Character of this general Officer is ſo uncommon, that it may be very proper to give ſome little Account of it. He was a Man of Senſe, valiant, and had behaved very gallantly as a Partizan, till he was raiſed to the Poſt of Colonel. But his good Qualities were ſullied by very great Faults; among others, he was fond of paſſing for an Atheiſt; and maintained that there was no ſuch Being as the Devil, becauſe (as he ſaid) he had uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to have a Correſpondence with him, but without Succeſs.

Marſhal

Marſhal *de Duras* had ſet him at the Head of thoſe horrid Conflagrations, which laſted two Years. He had executed this barbarous Commiſſion with inflexible Rigour; inſomuch that all the *German* Peaſants took him for a Wizard, and his very Name was become a Terror to Nations. Contented with this evil Reputation, he at laſt was negligent of that of being terrible to the Enemy's Forces. He took a delight, in intimidating our Intendants, in appearing always in a Rage, and uſed to lie with two large Wolves, purpoſely to give himſelf an Air of Ferocity. In a Word, he was one of thoſe odd Characters, which do very little ſervice to their Sovereign or the General. 1692.

The falſe Advice he gave us with reſpect to the Enemy's March, ſaved them; for this little Army of eight or ten thouſand Men paſſed in Flank, during a March of ten Leagues, by the whole Army of his Majeſty, which having an Opportunity of marching up to the Enemy over very fine Plains, might have quite overpowered them, and cut them all off. They even might have been eaſily defeated after their arrival at *Worms*, where their intent was, to ſecure the Head of a Bridge, which was not finiſhed till the Day after; and conſequently, they were

1692. whole Day without having any Communication with the main Body of their Army, which marched forward, in proportion as they advanced, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. Their Deſign was, to draw us out of the Lower *Palatinate*, and to engage us to advance towards *Philipſburg* and *Landaw*.

We had an advanced Poſt at *Worms*, in a Church lying in ruins, where *Leſcoſſois*, a Lieutenant-Colonel of *Normandy*, commanded with three hundred Men. This Poſt was attacked, and bravely defended by *Leſcoſſois*, who after killing four or five hundred of the Enemy, was forced to ſurrender.

The King's Army left *Flonheim*, and marched through the Plains. Had they gone after the Enemy, they might have attacked them with great Advantage; for their Bridge was not yet built, and conſequently they had not yet joined their main Army, which was on the other Side of the *Rhine*. But we were reſolved not to come to Action; and the Day after, had it not been for Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Vivacity and Application, three thouſand Horſe commanded by Count *de Lippe*, would not have ſuffered ſo much for that Officer's Indiſcretion, in advancing too near to the King's Army. Count *de Lippe*, who

who in all probability ſuppoſed that it was at ſome Diſtance, croſſed before Day, the Rivulet of *Phederſheim*, which lay between us and the Enemy; when Marquiſs *de Villars* going up to the Guards of Horſe, found them within three hundred Paces of the Body of the Enemy: Our Dragoons had mounted their Horſes without being ordered, and our Guards were ſuſtained by three Squadrons of Cavalry. Thus, Marquiſs *de Villars* found fifteen Squadrons ready to engage at the very inſtant that the Enemy, knowing that the King's Army was in their Camp, and conſequently that they had committed a capital Error in croſſing the Rivulet, were now endeavouring to repaſs it with the utmoſt Diligence. 1692.

Marquiſs *de Villars* took Advantage of this Opportunity, and in a Moment, commanded the two Squadrons of Dragoons to extend towards the Left, and to iſſue from a hollow which covered them, in order to make the Enemy believe, that Troops advanced from a great many Places, and that the King's Army was in Motion. He now marched towards the Enemy with the Remainder; came up with them when about half had croſſed; put a great Number to the Sword, and took

1692. took upwards of three hundred Priſoners, among whom were two Colonels.

Two Days after, Marquiſs *de Lorge* took a ride upon the Hills about *Phederſhein*, attended by moſt of the general Officers. He knew that moſt of the Army had murmured, for his not attacking the Enemy. The Marſhal was deſirous of ſhowing that this could not eaſily have been done; and the Officers who accompanied him, only anſwered him in ſuch Terms as were due to his Employment. But about the ſame time, the Enemy ſurprized one of our Couriers. They opened our Letters, and ſent back to Marſhal *de Lorge* that written by the Intendant *Lafont*, which declared naturally enough, what almoſt the whole Army thought with regard to the Poſſibility of defeating this Body of the Enemy, which repaſſed the *Rhine*; and which, a few Days after, paſſed it again at *Spires*, with the reſt of the Army.

That of the King was joined by a pretty conſiderable Body of *Iriſh* in our Service, whom Marquiſs *d'Huxelles* marched back from *Briſac*; and ſome Skirmiſhes were fought in the neighbourhood of the Ruins of *Spires*, poſſeſſed by the Enemy; but, as was before obſerved, we did not deſire to come to Action. The Imperial Army, commanded by the Land-

grave

grave of *Heſſe*, and Marquiſs *de Bareith*, in whom they had very little Confidence; and with whom, all the reſt of the Generals, particularly ſome other *German* Princes, were not a little diſguſted, were likewiſe unwilling to fight, ſo that the Armies only moved up and down, without having any particular Object in View. The Huſſars, only advanced near his Majeſty's Army, and annoyed our Guards and Forragers. As Marquiſs *de Villars* had ſerved in the Emperour's Armies, he knew better than any other Perſon the military Diſpoſition peculiar to this kind of Troops, *viz.* to very ſeldom attack ſuch Bodies as keep together, but to charge vigorouſly all ſuch as ſeparate from them. This was of Advantage to him in the preſent Juncture. One Day, finding our Forragers briſkly charged by the Huſſars, he brought up two Troops of the Gendarmerie in the midſt of them. *Charron* a Sub-Lieutenant of the *Scotch* Guards, flew to him, and declared, that he was going to deſtroy their Gendarmes. *Sir*, anſwered Mr. *de Villars*, *When I am at a Loſs what to do in a Morning, 'tis a Pleaſure to me to have twelve or fifteen Gendarmes loſe their Lives. Learn*, continued he, *how to fight againſt Huſſars.* At the ſame time, he put himſelf at the Head of the 1692.

1692. the two Troops of Gendarmerie; made them preſent their Muſquetoons, and cried, *Let no one fire, without my particular Orders.* He afterwards commanded thoſe who were the beſt Marſkmen, to level, with a pretty good Charge, againſt ſuch of the Huſſars as ſhould advance neareſt to them. By this Method, he repulſed the moſt intrepid Huſſars; after which he commanded one of the two Troops of Gendarmerie to poſt themſelves two hundred Paces behind him; and he himſelf retired with the firſt, ordering them to fire from Time to Time, but without ſuffering any one to leave the Ranks. By this means he rejoyned the main of the Eſcort; ſaved the Forragers, and gave a Leſſon to the Horſe, with regard to the Conduct neceſſary to be obſerved in preſence of Enemies, who are well known to be as unwilling to attack a Body of Troops together, as they are deſirous of purſuing ſuch as ſeparate, in their view, from their main Body.

A few Days after, the King's Army croſſed the *Rhine*, that of the Enemy being ſeparated by Quarters behind *Phorſheim*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, only, poſted himſelf, with three thouſand Horſe, two Leagues on the higher Side of this little City, imagining he was able to defend his Poſt,

Poſt, or elſe ſhould have time to retire. 1691.
The former was impoſſible; but the latter was in his own Power, as the whole Army marched in the day time. Marquiſs *de Villars*, being perſuaded that the Enemy would not wait our coming up, deſired Marſhal *de Lorge* to allow him two thouſand Horſe, merely to amuſe them. However, theſe were refuſed him; our Generals not being willing to ſurprize ſo frank and ingenuous an Enemy, or rather, one who was ſo little ſkilled in matters of War. The Duke was exceſſively weak on this occaſion, ſince he did not attempt to retire, till his Majeſty's Army, which had marched with great Gravity in ſix Columns, was come to the Bank of the Rivulet which ſeparated it from us. He then percipitated his Retreat. Marquiſs *de Villars*, Counts *Tallard* and *de Coigny* put themſelves at the Head of the moſt advanced Troops, when they croſſed the Rivulet in ſeveral Places, and this Action was not a Fight, but a Party of Hunting. Upwards of five hundred Men were killed on the ſpot; a greater Number were taken, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* fell into the Hands of Marquiſs *de Villars*, who, at the return of the Armies of *Hungary*, had lived with him, two Years before, and was vaſtly intimate with him.

'Twas

1692. 'Twas a great Conſolation to this Prince, to find himſelf ſafe, and among Perſons with whom he was acquainted.

He ſtayed ſeven or eight Days in the King's Army, after which Orders were ſent to bring him to Court. During this little Interval, he told Marquiſs *de Villars* the many Errors which the Enemy's Generals had committed. Among other Circumſtances, he ſaid, that their Army having croſſed the *Rhine* at *Spires*, a warm Conteſt aroſe between the Landgrave of *Heſſe* and Marquiſs *de Bareith*. Each having the chief Command over the Right as well as Left Wing, both were determined to have that of the Right. To reconcile them, this Expedient was at laſt found out, *viz.* to ſay, *two Bodies*, without employing the Words, *Right* or *Left*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* aſſured Marquiſs *de Villars*, that going to compliment theſe two Generals on this happy Expedient which had put an end to their Conteſt, ſaid to them; *Gentlemen*; *you have made two Bodies, could not you procure a Head?*

After the Defeat of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Enemy's Army came near to the *Lower Necker*, and left us at Liberty to extend the Contributions as far as we pleaſed. Parties were ſent very far up in the

the Country, and as they were rejoining the Army, Advice was brought that the Landgrave of *Heſſe* had inveſted *Eberburg*. Marſhal *de Lorge* marched to Succour it; and Marquiſs *de Villars* deſired of him two thouſand Horſe, in order to march with Diligence towards an Enemy, who, in all probability, would raiſe the Siege at the Arrival of the King's Army; and who, not being diſturbed nor checked in his Motions, by the Approach of the Head of an Army, would have leiſure to retire unmoleſted. However, the Marſhal refuſed the Propoſal, and the whole Army ſet out; the Cavalry being in the Van-guard, and marching in two Columns. 1692.

In this march of the Horſe, a Circumſtance happened of ſo ſingular a Nature, that it deſerves to be related. The Night was very dark. After we had croſſed the Rivulet of *Phederſheim*, we came into a Plain above four Leagues in length, and the Columns conſiſted of near fifty Squadrons each, marching forward in the ſame Proportion. Now it ſo happened, that the Column to the Right was wholly to the Left, and that of the Left to the Right, without any one Squadron croſſing the other; ſo that the Column to the Right, hearing the march of a great Body of

1692. of Forces, where none were expected, imagined that the Enemy had croſſed at *Mentz*, and were advancing towards us. However, it was ſoon found that all were Friends, but no one could conceive how ſo extraordinary a Movement had happened; nor how it was poſſible fifty Squadrons to paſs from Right to Left, without perceiving it themſelves. One of the Columns muſt certainly have halted, whilſt the other, moving imperceptibly to the Right, muſt have changed Places with them.

At Day-break, we heard that the Siege of *Eberbury* was raiſed, and that the Landgrave of *Heſſe* was retiring with precipitation and diſorder towards *Benguen*, where he had a Bridge croſs the *Rhine*.

The Campaign ended with the laſt Movement, and Marquiſs *de Villars*, being appointed to go and command in *Flanders*, took the Court in his way. During the three Weeks he continued in it, the King was pleaſed to give him Teſtimonies of the Satisfaction his Services gave him.

1693. The Year 1693 began with the Siege of *Furnes*, which Marquiſs *de Bouflers* attempted in the Beginning of the Year, and in extreme bad Weather. Marquiſs *de Villars* was commanded to obſerve the Motions

Motions of the Enemy, in order to cover such of his Majesty's Countries as were not subject to Contribution; and, at the same time, secure the Enterprize of *Furnes*. For this purpose he marched towards *Courtray*, posting himself between the *Scheld* and the *Lys*, till he might see how the Enemy would act, upon receiving Advice of *Furnes* being invested. 1691.

The Elector of *Bavaria* seemed at first, by some Motions of the Garrisons of *Brussels*, *Namur*, and *Ghent*, determined to march to *Courtray*, which obliged Marquis *de Villars* to continue in the neighbourhood of that Town. But upon the Elector's resolving to march to *Newport*, to attempt the Relief of *Furnes*, Marquis *de Villars* advanced with great Diligence towards *Dunkirk*. In his march, 'twas confirmed to him, that the Elector of *Bavaria* was assembling all his Forces at *Newport*. Marquis *de Villars* hasted, with the Head of his Troops, to *Dunkirk*; and went in Person to *Furnes*, the Avenues to which he found so well guarded against the Enemy, that he did not doubt of the speedy and certain Success of the Enterprize; and accordingly the Town surrendered the 7th of *January*. 'Twas horrid Weather, and the *Dutch* Garrison was scarce able to cross the Camp, the Floods

1693. Floods covering every Part, and the Trenches being full of Water; Circumſtances which ought to have made the Enemy a little aſhamed of the poor Defence they made.

The King had given Marquiſs *de Villars*, during this whole Expedition, the general Command of all the Forces that might be drawn from the *Maes*, and the ſeveral Garriſons of *Flanders*, in order that he might employ them, as might be requiſite, to ſecure his Lines, *Courtray* and the Frontiers; and likewiſe to reinforce the Army of Marquiſs *de Bouflers*, whoſe Orders he was to obey.

The Enemy having abandoned *Dixmude*, Marquiſs *deVillars* threw immediately five hundred Men into it, and afterwards a Body of Troops ſtrong enough to defend it. The Siege of *Furnes* being ended, Marquiſs *de Bouflers* was ordered to come to Court; and the Command in *Flanders*, during his Abſence, was given to Marquiſs *de Villars*.

He then received Advice, that his Majeſty had appointed him Lieutenant-General; and a few Days after, that he was ordered to ſerve in that Quality in the Army of *Germany*, and to command the Horſe there.

The

The King at the ſame time, advanced 1693.
ſeven Officers to the Dignity of Marſhals of *France*, *viz.* Meſſieurs *de Choiſeuil*, *de Joyeuſe*, *de Villeroi*, *de Tourville*, *de Noailles*, *de Bouflers*, and *de Catinat*; all Perſons of Merit, but who had never won a ſingle Battle, or even commanded at any great Action, *de Tourville* and *Catinat* excepted. The former was Vice-Admiral, and conſidered as one of the ableſt Sea-Officers of his Time; the latter, who had gained the Battle of *Stafarda*, was a plain, modeſt Man, and remarkable for his Humility, which had contributed greatly to his Riſe. He even refuſed; after his being promoted to the Poſt of Marſhal of *France*, to be Knight of the Order, with much leſs Juſtice than many others, who nevertheleſs had not refuſed to accept of it, in the laſt Promotion.

Marſhals *de Joyeuſe* and *de Choiſeuil*, Men of exalted Birth, and very brave, had lived till the Age of Sixty-five or Sixty-ſix, in ſubaltern Employments, in which, thoſe who ſpend ſo many Years, ſcarce ever attain that Elevation, that Genius for commanding, and Strength of Mind, ſo neceſſary for commanding at the Helm with Dignity and Succeſs. We even have often ſeen thoſe who ſhone in the ſecond Employments, ſink under the Weight

1691. Weight of that Deciſion to which the Man who enjoys the ſupreme Command is obliged; and that, ſometimes, againſt the Counſels of moſt of the Officers in his Army.

Marſhal *de Villeroi* was naturally courageous; had a majeſtic Air which claimed Reſpect, and was poſſeſſed of the ſeveral Talents requiſite in a Courtier; but he had little Succeſs in the Field, which the Chevalier *de Lorrain*, his Relation, had ſtrongly urged him to quit. The King had a great Affection for him, and ſo much the more, as he had been educated near his Perſon, as his Governour's Son. This Friendſhip, which began in Infancy, was now become almoſt natural; and poſſibly it might have quite erazed the Love his Majeſty bore the Duke *de Rochefaucault*, had not the conſtant Aſſiduity of the latter, and the Gallantry of the former, (which would not permit him to attend ſo diligently on his Majeſty) given the Duke *de la Rochefaucault*, an Air of Superiority, with regard to the Royal Favour.

Marſhal *de Bouflers* was a Man of prodigious Courage, and infinite Application. His Zeal for the Service; his Attachment to the Generals under whom he had fought; and his Merit which had diſplayed

played it ſelf in a great many particular Occaſions, won him their Eſteem. He would never rely ſolely on his Knowledge; but endeavoured to ſurmount, by an Application both of Body and Mind above the Strength of Man, thoſe Particulars in which he imagined the Vivacity and ſuperiour Genius of his Collegues gave them an Advantage over him. 1693.

Marſhal *de Noailles*, who, taught by his Father to be very aſſiduous about the King, was nevertheleſs reſolved to enter into the Service, and he aſpired to the higheſt military Employments. However, his Infirmities obliged him to quit it prettyearly, and would not ſuffer him to continue the Functions of the Dignity he had obtained.

To return to Marquiſs *de Villars*; the inſtant he was appointed to ſerve in the Army of *Germany*, he left *Flanders*, and went and ſpent three Weeks at Court. He was ordered to go upon the *Rhine* the 15th of *May*.

The Campaign opened with the Siege of *Heidleberg*, the Caſtle of which only could make any Reſiſtance, and that made but a weak one. The Governour, who was Commander of the *Teutonic* Order, ſurrendered the ſeventh Day. To puniſh him for his ill Defence, he was

1693. tryed by the Enemy, in a Court Martial, and ſentenced to be degraded of his Arms; a kind of Infamy, more dreadful than Death itſelf to a Man of Honour. Our Troops plundered and burnt the City of *Heidelberg*, in ſpite of the Endeavours uſed by the Officers to prevent this Calamity; but it muſt be confeſſed, that the Soldiers of this Army were inexpreſſible licentious. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſpoke to all the Regiments of Horſe, and declared, that if they did not behave more diſcreetly for the future, they ſhould be puniſhed with greater Severity.

The Army croſſed the *Necker*, and was commanded to go in ſearch of the Enemy. We advanced as far as *Suengenberg*; and two thouſand of the Enemy's Horſe which ſtood in order of Battle behind the Rivulet of that Name, and ſeemed a Rear-guard, or large Party to reconnoitre our Army, might have ſuffered very much. We need but have ſeized the Moment in which the Head of the King's Army came up; for the inſtant the Enemy had found the Danger they were in, they would have been obliged to make a ſudden Retreat.

At the ſame Time, his Majeſty ſent the Dauphin, with a conſiderable Detachment of the Army of *Flanders*, to command that of *Germany*; and to enable it,

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by ſo great a Reinforcement, to charge 1693.
that of the Emperour with vigour, and give Laws to the Empire. Theſe Advantages might be expected from the King's Army, becauſe of its Superiority, for Bravery as well as Numbers, over that of the Prince of *Baden*. But then we ought to have attacked them immediately after the Junction; and not have let ſlip ten or twelve Days, which that General employed to great Advantage in fortifying his Camp near *Hailborn*; and which likewiſe gave ſome Troops, who were at a great Diſtance, time to join.

In fine, at Day-break, his Majeſty's Army marched towards that of the Enemy, and placed themſelves, on all Sides, within Muſket-ſhot of their Lines, and at the ſame time in hollow Ways, where they were very little annoyed by the Enemy's Cannon. We found that their Right extended towards the Village of *Southaim* near *Hailbron*, their Center at *Thailaim*, and their Left returning towards *Hailbron*, ſo that they were encamped almoſt in a circular Form. Their Intrenchments, which they had begun but three Days before, were in very good Condition. They had improved the natural Advantages of their Poſt, with all the Art poſſible, and laid out their Ground like ſkil-

1693. ful Soldiers, ſo that, no one thought it would be poſſible to force them, and the Army returned into their Camp about eight in the Evening.

We received Advice by ſeveral Perſons, that the greateſt Part of their Forces did not join but four Days before; and that they did not begin to intrench themſelves till two Days before the Arrival of the King's Army; an evident Proof that they would not have kept their Poſt, had we marched up to them as ſoon as we might have done.

Marſhal *de Lorge*, fearing he ſhould be blamed for the five or ſix Days which had been loſt; and which, had we marched faſter, would not have ſuffered the Prince of *Baden* to wait our coming up, propoſed ſeveral Expedients to ſtreighten the Enemy, and cut off their Communications. Theſe Deſigns, difficult in themſelves, ſurprized the Dauphin's Court. Marſhal *de Choiſeuil* was the firſt who declared publickly, that theſe things were not practicable: Marquiſs *d' Huxelles* was of the ſame Opinion: The reſt of the Lieutenant-Generals were not conſulted: and the Advice of moſt of thoſe who were near the Dauphin's Perſon, was deciſive, in which, a Deſire of returning ſpeedily to *Verſailles* had the chief Part. Marquiſs

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de Bouflers, being undetermined, would not go againſt the Stream; and now the Army thought of nothing but of regaining the *Rhine*. 1693.

In the mean Time, News was brought of the Battle of *Nerwinde*, and that the Army under the Prince of *Orange* (King *William*) had been forced in their Intrenchments by thoſe of the King, which nevertheleſs were not deſigned for ſuch great Exploits as that of *Germany*, ſtrengthned by the Flower of the Troops of *Flanders*; and whom, the Preſence of the Dauphin, ought to have animated. An Action ſo glorious to the Forces of his Majeſty and to the General, ought naturally to have made us regret our Inactivity; but we were determined to do nothing, and ſuch Regrets did not produce a Change.

An Army, under the Command of the Dauphin, and in preſence of three Marſhals of *France*, was ſeen to behave in the moſt diſſolute, abandoned manner. All the Forces ſtraggled about in Parties, ſetting fire to the Villages and little Cities. A conſiderable Number of Soldiers were buried in the Ruins made by the Flames, and others in Cellars ſtocked with Wine. Nevertheleſs the Soldiers were often puniſhed, and ſometimes twenty were hang-

1693 ed up in a Day. But when a General neglects to eſtabliſh a ſevere Diſcipline at firſt, the moſt cruel Examples are of no ſervice afterwards.

The Gendarmerie followed the Dauphin, and were commanded to march with the utmoſt Diligence into *Italy*, to reinforce Marſhal *de Catinat*'s Army, which they joined two Days before the Battle of *Marſala*.

In the mean Time, the King's Forces poſted themſelves in the neighbourhood of *Briſac*, till orders ſhould come for their breaking up. Marquiſs *de Villars* deſired Leave to go for a Fortnight into *Dauphiné*, to thank one of his Relations who had freely given him his whole Eſtate. The aſking Leave of the Miniſter of War, by declaring that 'twas with a view of returning the ſooner to whatever Command his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to give Marquiſs *de Villars* during the Winter, denoted plainly that he hoped, that he deſired, and even depended upon being employed during the Winter, as he had been for ſome Years before.

But Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux* hated Marquiſs *de Villars*, and deſired to favour Count *de Montrevel*, who was very intimate with a Family, in which liv'd a Lady, with whom the Miniſter of War was

was violently in Love. He therefore formed a Deſign to ruin Marquiſs *de Villars*, when, addreſſing himſelf for that purpoſe to his Father at *Fontainebleau*, where the Court was at that time; two Days before his Majeſty appointed the ſeveral Commands for the Winter, he ſaid to him: *How does your Son manage his Affairs? He is carried every Year from* Flanders *to* Germany *with all his Equipage. Has he Money enough to ſupport his Expence in Taverns? As he does not poſſeſs a Government, 'tis impoſſible for him to ſerve in the Manner he does.* Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Father did but barely acquieſce with this Aſſertion, when Mr. *de Barbeſieux* went that Moment, and repeated it very maliciouſly to the King; as tho' Marquiſs *de Villars* had really refuſed to ſerve, unleſs a Government were given him. But his Majeſty was not to be moved by ſuch Arts. The Command of *Flanders* was taken from Marquiſs *de Villars* and beſtowed on Count *de Montrevel*. The Liſt of the Generals, who were to be employed the next Winter, appeared the Day after. Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Father, not ſeeing his Son's Name in it, was immediately ſenſible of the Miniſter's Perfidy; when acquainting his Majeſty with it, he anſwered with an Air of the utmoſt Cold-

1693.

1693. neſs, *That he had more General-Officers than he could employ.*

Very happily for Marquiſs *de Villars*, his Father received a Letter from him the ſame Day, by which he informed him, that as he hoped his Majeſty would do him the Honour to employ him as he had done the preceeding Winters, he therefore had deſired a Permiſſion of Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux*, in order that he might take Advantage of the Time of Quarters of Forrage, and have an Opportunity of going into *Flanders*, where he intended to ſerve in the Beginning of *November*. Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Father, intreated *Niel*, the King's firſt Valet-de-Chambre, to prevail with his Majeſty to caſt his Eye on that Letter. At the ſame time, he related the ſeveral Words Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux* had ſpoke to him; the Anſwer he made to them, and which that Miniſter had repeated to the King, as tho' *Villars*'s Father had heard his Son uſe thoſe very Expreſſions. Mr. *Niel*, (a Man of ſtrict Honour) who ſaw clearly thro' the Artifices of Mr. *de Barbeſieux*, purſuant to the Sentiments of Virtue which were natural to himſelf, read Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Letter to his Majeſty. The King heard it with Satisfaction, and the very next Day declared to Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux*, that he would beſtow

ſtow the Government of *Friburg* and *Briſ-* 1693.
gaw on Marquiſs *de Villars*. The Reader may eaſily figure to himſelf the Surprize the Miniſter was in, to ſee ſo conſiderable an Employment given to a Man, whom he fancied was compleatly ruined by his Arts. The Day following, the King ſaid again to *Barbeſieux*, *Villars muſt not be idle. Send a Courier to him in* Dauphiné, *where I know he is, and order him to ſet out to my Army in* Italy.

We muſt relate, in one and the ſame Place, the ſeveral Things which paſſed with regard to Marquiſs *de Villars*. The Miniſter could never prevail with himſelf to ſend him Advice, not even by the Courier he diſpatched to haſten his Departure for *Italy*, that his Majeſty had given him a Government. Thus, Marquiſs *de Villars* not being informed of it by the Miniſter of War, (the Inſtrument thro' which the King's Will ſhould naturally be conveyed) ſtill doubted the Truth of what his Father had informed him by Letter, and for that Reaſon did not dare to thank his Majeſty. However, as the whole Court complimented him on that Occaſion, he wrote a Letter to the King, incloſed in another to his Father; but not the leaſt notice was taken of it, by Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux*.

1693. The Campaign ended in *Italy* ſooner than the King had hoped or expected; when, retaining a favourable Remembrance of *Villars*, whom he was determined not to leave idle during the Winter, he ordered *Barbeſieux* to give him a Commiſſion to viſit all the Cavalry from *Savoy* to *Flanders*, paſſing thro' *Franche Comté*, *Alſatia* and *Lorrain*.

But *Barbeſieux* did not ſend him this Commiſſion, ſo that Marquiſs *de Villars* returned to Court, where his Father, hearing of the Orders his Son ſhould have received, did not expect to ſee him. *What do you come to Court for*, ſaid he to him? *The King has appointed you to go and viſit the Cavalry.* Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered very naturally, that, he had not heard of any ſuch Commiſſion, he returned with Pleaſure to *Paris*, with an intent to ſpend the Winter in that City. His Father found by theſe Words, a Continuation of the Miniſter's Malice, who, after taking no notice of the Government which had been beſtowed upon his Son, had alſo concealed the Order given him to viſit the Cavalry. He therefore adviſed Marquiſs *de Villars* to begin firſt by informing the King of it. Accordingly he ſpoke to him, and ſaid to his Majeſty, that, how impatient ſoever he might be to wait upon him, and

and return him thanks in Perſon, for the Favours he had been pleaſed to beſtow upon him, eſpecially the two different Commiſſions by which he was appointed to ſerve his Majeſty, a Happineſs he preferred to all Things; ſtill, his Impatience would have yielded to his Duty, by obeying the Orders ſent him to viſit the Cavalry, had ſuch Orders ever come to his Hands. The King anſwered him in the mildeſt Terms, that a ſmall Journey would not break ſquares. *No Sir*, anſwered *Villars*; *I have not received the Order: It will come to my Hands, but I ſhall not forget to open it before Witneſſes.* The Day after, *Villars* walking in the Guard Room of the Palace, with old Duke *d'Aumont* and Mr. *de Vauban*, one of his Servants brought a Letter from Mr. *de Barbeſieux*. Immediately he deſired thoſe Gentlemen to examine very carefully, whether the Letter had been opened. They found the Seals not broke in any manner, after which, he opened the Letter before them, and found in it an Order from the King to go and viſit the Cavalry during the Winter. *Villars* upon this went into his Majeſty's Cabinet, took the Liberty to ſhow him the Letter, and told him who were preſent at his opening it. The King ſaid to him; *But can you believe that* 1693.

1693. *People*, (meaning the Marquiſs *de Barbeſieux*) *can ruin a Man whom I know ſo well as I do you? Sir*, replied *Villars*, *thoſe People certainly had ſuch a Deſign, ſince they had thrown me out of the Service; and I will preſume to inform your Majeſty, that as a Lieutenant-General of your Armies, how zealous ſoever he may be in your Service, has not the Honour to ſpeak to you above once or twice in a Year, he thereby is expoſed to great Danger, whenever the Miniſter who ſpeaks to you daily, is determined to ruin him.*

But 'tis time to return to the ſeveral Things that paſt during the ſhort ſtay Marquiſs *de Villars* made in *Italy*. We were willing to relate, in its order, the Particulars of the Court-Adventure above mentioned, which is not the only one of the kind in which Marquiſs *de Villars* was engaged.

After the happy Succeſs of the Battle of *Marſala*, the King was determined to beſiege *Conio*, and to order his Army to Winter in *Italy*. But Marquiſs *de Catinat* found this impracticable, and thereupon ſent Lieutenant-General *Larrey* to Court, in order to demonſtrate the Impoſſibility of it. Nevertheleſs, the King perſiſted in his Reſolution, and made *Chamlai* (one in whom he repoſed the greateſt Confidence)

dence) to examine, in Perſon, whether the ſeveral Difficulties ſtarted by Marſhal *de Catinat*, had any Foundation. *Chamlai* joyned in Opinion with the Marſhal, ſo that upon Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Arrival in *Italy*, he found that a Reſolution had been taken to return into *France*. However, for his own Satisfaction, and to take Advantage of his Leiſure, he viſited the Country, and took a view of *Foſſano*, *Savigliano*, *Raconia*, *Saluzzo*, and other Towns. The Country abounded with Corn and Forrage; the Enemy's Army was diſperſed; *Pignerol* had been victualled on one Side, a ſpacious Place of Arms on the other Side of the Mountains, very proper to ſuſtain advanced Heads of Winter-Quarters. *Suſa* on another Side, and all the Valley. Marquiſs *de Villars* was of Opinion, that it would be proper to carry the Contributions very far up into the open Countries, but the General thought otherwiſe. The Reſolution was already taken; and Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Repreſentations, which would only have exaſperated the General to no purpoſe, were very moderate. 1693.

Our Forces were now guilty of the moſt ſhocking Diſorders. Several ſmall Cities were burnt; *Revel*, in which was an Abbey, inhabited by fifty young Maidens

1693. dens of the beſt Families in *Piedmont*, ſuffered all the Horrors which the Diſſoluteneſs and Inſolence of the Soldiers can occaſion. After theſe ſcandalous Expeditions; and after having laid waſte a Country of which a much better uſe might have been made, the Army repaſſed the Mountains, and Marquiſs *de Villars* returned to Court.

In returning by *Vienne*, he found his Uncle, the Archbiſhop, very ill. However, as the Phyſicians aſſured him that he was not in any danger, he continued his Journey. This kind Prelate indulged all his Affection to *Villars*; but being urged, in his expiring Moments, to make his Will, the following Words only could be got from him; *I leave all to my Nephew.* As he had more Nephews than *Villars*, he did not inherit any part of his Eſtate, tho' it had been ſaid, that he ſhould owe his whole Fortune to his Uncle.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ſtaid but a Fortnight at Court, when Mr. *de Barbeſieux* gave him freſh Proofs of his Averſion. Upon pretence that his Majeſty had appointed ſo great a Number of Provinces to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that it would be impoſſible for him to viſit, during the Winter, all the Cavalry diſperſed in them; he deſired that Count *de Marcin* might

ſhare

ſhare that Commiſſion with him. 'Twas not in the Miniſter's Power to injure the Marquiſs any otherwiſe than by ſuch little Diſappointments; for as he was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Government, enjoyed ſeveral Penſions, and had a high Employment in the Army; thoſe who envied him could do little more than leſſen the Merits of his Services. 1693.

This Year ended with the bombarding of St. *Malo*. The *Engliſh* had been long projecting this Expedition, and the Preparations for it were dreadful. The bare Name of *infernal Machine* given to a Ship that was to ſet every Thing in Flames; made the World form a dreadful Idea of this Armament. However, the Succeſs did not anſwer the Hopes the Enemy had conceived from it; and this mighty Armada which coſt the *Engliſh* immenſe Sums, did very little damage to *France*.

The Campaign of 1694 opened the Beginning of *June*. The Army croſſed the *Rhine* at *Philipſburg*, and Marſhal *de Lorge* ſaid, his Majeſty's Intentions were, that they ſhould attack that of the Enemy. Their Army was, indeed, commanded by a very great General, (the Prince of *Baden*;) but then it was very much inferiour, both in Number and Quality to that 1694

1694. that of his Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, the Prince of *Baden* waited our coming up near *Viſloc*; and imagined he had poſted himſelf to ſo much Advantage, that there was no poſſibility of his being forced in it.

Marſhal *de Lorge* marched, *June* 25, at Day-break, to *St. Leen* and *Root*. Marquiſs *de Villars* was Lieutenant-General of the Day, and advanced to the Guards which *St. Fremont*, Marſhal de Camp, was poſting. The Enemy's Huſſars attacked briſkly thoſe who were moſt advanced; but being ſuſtained by three others, and by *du Chatelet* and *du Bordage*'s Regiments of Horſe, they repulſed the Enemy in their turn. In the mean time, our Troopers having left their Ranks in ſpite of the Orders, returned in ſome diſorder. The Squadrons of *Châtelet* and *du Bordage* poſted themſelves in a little Plain, and the Enemy repaſſed the Rivulet of *Viſloc*. Marſhal *de Lorge* coming at the ſame time, would have our Troops endeavour to croſs the Rivulet. Marquiſs *de Villars*, Meſſieurs *de St. Fremont* and *Barbeſieres* marched at the Head of the Troops. The Paſſage of the Rivulet was found pretty difficult; and the Enemy making a very great Fire, Marquiſs *de Villars* plainly perceived, that they muſt

either force the Paſſage that Moment, or retire. The Prince of *Baden* headed his Troops himſelf; and tho' he was not reſolved to venture a Battle, his Army being well poſted a quarter of a League from this Place, we might nevertheleſs have been very eaſily ſtopt. 1694.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ordered one of *Merinville*'s Squadrons, commanded by *La Valette*, whom he knew was very brave, to force the Paſſage of the Bridge; and ſome Dragoons to croſs the Rivulet lower down. Himſelf at the Head of another of *Merinville*'s Squadrons, followed by *St. Fremont*, and by Marquiſs *Daverne* who commanded the Dragoons of the Army, plunged into the Rivulet, whoſe great Depth and oozy Bottom was very incommodious to the Soldiers; drove upon the Enemy, killed great Numbers, and repulſed them almoſt to their Camp. Marquiſs *Daverne* loſt his Life in the Rivulet; *Mercy*, the Enemy's General was taken Priſoner, and fell under the Horſe of Marquiſs *de Villars*. He received a ſlight Wound.

This Action was in the whole very glorious to the King's Forces; thoſe of the Enemy being animated by the Preſence of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. Beſides, 'twas but

1694. but the Beginning of the Campaign, and 'tis of Advantage to ſet out well.

In the mean time, after this little Succeſs we reſolved to repaſs the *Rhine*, without having any particular Deſign in view; and one of the fineſt of his Majeſty's Armies, ſpent the reſt of the Campaign, merely in conſuming of Forrage; whereas, in keeping on the other Side of the *Rhine*, they were more gloriouſly ſituated; and at leaſt, laying the whole Country under Contributions as far as beyond the Black Mountains. We even might have attempted to take *Philengen*, which would have put us in poſſeſſion of the Head of the *Danube*.

Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was vaſtly zealous for his Majeſty's Intereſt and the Glory of his Arms, and poſſibly more piqued than any other Man, whenever he ſaw Troops unactive; was not afraid of declaring, that the preſent Inactivity of our Forces was very prejudicial. But his Remonſtrances were not acceptable, and his differing in Opinion with others, often raiſed him Enemies. In fine, the whole Campaign, as we before obſerved, was ſpent in conſuming the Forrage; and during the laſt Weeks, the Cavalry ſuffered extremely, by their continuing generally ſo long encamped in the ſame Place.

Our

Our Tranquillity was interrupted, the latter End of *September*, by the Advice brought us, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had croſſed the *Rhine* at *Hagenbach*, and had ſeized upon that City. We were not a little uneaſy; and the only Thing left us to do, was, to march with the utmoſt Diligence, to check the Progreſs of the Enemy, and prevent their ſpreading themſelves over the open Country. However, this was not their Intention; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* ſeeing us employed in nothing, would amuſe himſelf in ſomething of a little more Conſequence than nothing. This is the Character I give of a Paſſage, which that Prince might have made a greater Advantage of. His Army, indeed, was not powerful enough, to defend *Lutter* againſt us, and keep us out of *Alſatia*; this would have been too great an Attempt. But then, after he had croſſed the *Rhine*, he might have detached three or four thouſand Horſe, and theſe could have ſcoured all *Alſatia*; have put all Things under Contribution; carried off a great Number of Magiſtrates and Perſons of Conſequence, and afterwards have returned by the way of *Rheinſfeld*. The laudable *Swiſs Cantons*, would not have murmured to ſee ſuch a Body march a League and an half in their Territories; 1694.

1694. ritories; for both we and the Imperialiſts had accuſtomed them to greater Liberties.

We arrived at *Hagenbach*, in the very Moment that the Enemy's Rear-guard croſſed the laſt Bridges, and took ſome Troopers Priſoners, with a pretty great Number of Marauders who came too late to rejoyn their Army. On this occaſion we ſaw a Thing, which, tho' common enough with regard to the ebbing and flowing of the *Rhine*, is nevertheleſs pretty ſurprizing, *viz.* that this River fell ſix Foot in four Hours.

This little Adventure being ended, all that now remained was, to ſeparate the Army. We ſpread ſome Battalions along the *Rhine*. Marſhal *de Joyeuſe* marched towards the *Moſelle* with the greateſt Part of the Cavalry, and Count *Tallard* on the *Saare*. Marquiſs *de Villars*, till ſuch time as the laſt Separation ſhould be made of the Army, and the Generals diſmiſſed, went and viſited his Government of *Friburg*; Here he himſelf enquired, whether the Advice which had been brought during the Campaign, *viz.* that a Partizan of the Enemy, called *Peſſeman*, had deſigned to ſurprize the Caſtle, might juſtly cauſe an Alarm. This Journey gave him an Opportunity of viſiting the Entrance

of the Black Mountains. Theſe did not appear to him ſo difficult of Acceſs as was generally related; and he now informed himſelf of many Particulars, which were of Advantage to him afterwards. 1694.

The Orders being arrived with regard to the laſt Separation of the Army, Marquiſs *de Villars* went and paſt the Winter at Court. The King, who was perſuaded of his Zeal, and had a pretty good Opinion of his Views, was pleaſed to confer with him in his Cabinet. In the firſt Audience, he ordered him to draw up ſome Memoirs, with reſpect to ſuch military Projects as might be formed; and in the ſecond Audience Marquiſs *de Villars* preſented him thoſe he had drawn up.

His Majeſty was ſo gracious as to aſſure him, that he peruſed them with Pleaſure; that he underſtood the Conſequences, and was perſuaded of the Uſefulneſs of them. But as the Marquiſs was not qualified to put them in Execution; as three Marſhals of *France* were appointed to command the Army of *Germany*, not to mention that the Miniſter of War was a profeſſed Enemy to *Villars*, his Scheme was not followed. However, it was of Advantage to him; it had ſtruck the King, and confirmed him in his Reſolution to raiſe the Marquiſs, which he did ſome Years after;

and

1694. and at a time when his Majeſty, finding the Affairs of War in the greateſt Confuſion in *Flanders* and *Germany*, would give the Command of the Army in *Germany* to Marquiſs *de Villars*, altho' headed by a Marſhal of *France*, and ſix Lieutenant-Generals who were his Seniors.

Nothing particular happened therefore this Winter, with regard to Marquiſs *de Villars*, except the two Audiences abovementioned; but now ſeveral Matches were propoſed to him. His Family was paſſionately deſirous of his marrying, and this Reaſon ſuſpended the Diſinclination he had to the wedded State. Some Difficulties aroſe which he endeavoured faintly to ſurmount, and he ſet out in 1695, for the Campaign of *Germany*.

1695. It opened, as uſual, with the Paſſage of the *Rhine*, and our Army encamped between *Heidelberg* and *Philipſburg*. Marſhal *de Lorge* falling dangerouſly ill, was carried to *Landaw*, and the Command devolved on Marſhal *de Joyeuſe*.

The Army immediately ſpread, taking ſeveral Poſts in the neighbourhood of *Senſheim*, and on the Route which the Enemy might take, in order to approach us.

In the mean time we had not good Information with regard to their firſt Motions

tions; and Marſhal *de Joyeuſe*, having 1695.
Advice about Noon, that the Prince of
Baden was coming towards us, ordered
Marquiſs *de Villars* to march immediately
with two thouſand Horſe, and bring back
ſeven or eight hundred Foot whom we
had diſtributed in ſeveral little Cities,
Caſtles, or Churches; all within two
Hours march of the Army, and on the
Enemy's Route.

Marquiſs *de Villars* met with the Van-
guard of their Army, headed by the
Prince of *Baden*. He drew the Foot a-
bovementioned out of their Poſts; but
as, in order to ſecure their Retreat, he
was obliged to bring up the two thouſand
Horſe, it was pretty difficult. The Ene-
my's Huſſars beginning to charge our laſt
Troops, Marquiſs *de Villars* halted, with
two Troops of the Gendarmerie, at the
Head of a Defile, and eaſily checked the
Progreſs of the moſt advanced Huſſars.
At the ſame time, he commanded Mar-
quiſs *de Marivaux* to march off from this
Defile, which was a little Rivulet of very
eaſy Paſſage; and after trotting hard to
the Extremity of a Plain about half a
League round, to draw up in order of
Battle; ſo that the Enemy, after croſſing
this Rivulet, diſcovered a conſiderable
Body of Horſe, which obliged them to
croſs

1695. croſs this Plain with regularity, in order to approach it.

After this Diſpoſition, the Huſſars charging briſkly our two Troops, Marquiſs *de Villars* commanded the latter to drive the Huſſars two hundred Paces, and to come back with the utmoſt Speed. Marquiſs *de Villars* waited their return with a third Troop; received them, and traverſed the Plain unmoleſted. Scarce was he got in the middle, but the Enemy crouded over the firſt Rivulet, and a firſt Line was ſoon formed. But as they perceived a large Body at the Extremity of the Plain, the firſt Line would wait for a ſecond. Marquiſs *de Villars* made the ſecond Line, unperceived by the Enemy, repaſs with great Diligence the Rivulet behind him. This Rivulet might be eaſier defended than the former; and the firſt Line, three Troops excepted, repaſſed alſo, whilſt the Prince of *Baden* was drawing up his Forces in Battle-array on the Plain. At the ſame Time, *Villars* commanded all the Dragoon-Drummers to beat a Foot March, and to make the greateſt Noiſe poſſible, in order to perſuade the Enemy, that the Head of the *French* Army was coming to ſuſtain them.

The Prince of *Baden* croſſed the Plain with all poſſible Diligence, and extended along

along the Rivulet, which he found de- 1695.
fended by the two thouſand Horſe above-
mentioned. Very briſk Skirmiſhes enſued, nevertheleſs Marquiſs *de Villars* loſt but ten Men in a long Retreat made in Preſence of the Enemy's Army, which was conducted by an active, enterprizing General. Night came on, Marſhal *de Joyeuſe* marched forward towards *Villars*'s Troops, moſt of which he ſuppoſed had been cut to pieces, or taken Priſoners.

The next Day, the Prince of *Baden* drew near the King's Army, as tho' he intended to come to an Engagement. This would not have been impoſſible, had he been very deſirous of it. Our Left was open to the Cannon, and might either have been diſlodged, or very much annoyed. We entrenched as ſoon as poſſible with ſome * Epaulements for the Horſe; there was not much cannonading. The two Armies continued a conſiderable time in Sight; after which, throwing up ſeveral Intrenchments to ſecure our Retreat, we made it unmoleſted.

The King's Army repaſſed the *Rhine*, and went and encamped near *Alſey*, on a Spot of which Generals are very fond,

* A Work raiſed either of Earth, Gabions, or Faſcines, *&c.*

1695. where they always enjoy the utmoſt Abundance and Tranquillity. Marſhal *de Lorge* was ſtill very ill at *Landaw*; 'twas long before he could recover his Strength, and he made a Reſolution to quite leave the Service. The reſt of the Campaign was ſpent, without the leaſt Appearance of coming to an Action.

Marſhal *de Joyeuſe* ſent Marquiſs *de Villars* below *Mentz* with a great Body of Horſe, in order to oblige thoſe Countries to pay ſooner the Contributions in Corn and Specie. As he was retiring in ſight of *Mentz*, General *Palfy* advanced with a large Body of Huſſars, when ſome briſk Skirmiſhes enſued. The Huſſars were repulſed to the Counterſcarp. Thirty were either killed or taken, and General *Palfy* was wounded. This little Event cloſed the Campaign, and Marquiſs *de Villars* returned to Court, in order to ſpend the Winter there, when he was again preſſed by his Family to marry. Several Propoſals were made, and pretty far advanced, but the little Inclination he had to the marriage State, was always an Obſtacle to the Concluſion of it.

He was nominated to ſerve in the Army of *Italy*, where a much greater Number of Forces were drawn together than the preceeding Campaigns, to force the

Duke

Duke of *Savoy* to a ſeparate Treaty; and give him an Opportunity of excuſing himſelf to his Allies, by declaring that he had been obliged to yield to a ſuperiour Force; or otherwiſe, in caſe the Treaty did not take Place, to make ſome Conqueſts. 1695.

The Campaign opened in the Beginning of *June*. The King's Army poſted it ſelf on the *Sangon*; and, at firſt, the Enemy who advanced frequently with Bodies of Horſe and Dragoons, endeavoured, either to carry off our Guards or to fall on our Forragers. But all their Parties were unſucceſsful, and theſe little Attempts always loſt them ſeveral Men. 1696.

In the mean Time, various Indiſpoſitions of Count *de Teſſé*, which prevented his appearing for four or five Days, began to raiſe a Suſpicion that they were feigned, and that he did not keep his Bed Day and Night. At laſt, 'twas no longer doubted in the Army, but that he had held ſome ſecret Conferences with ſome Miniſters of the Duke of *Savoy*. Matters were carried on in this manner till the 10th of *July*, when a Suſpenſion of Arms being concluded with the Duke abovementioned, proved, that the Treaty was either concluded, or in a fair way of being ſo.

1696. His Majeſty had granted a Suſpenſion of Arms for twenty Days only; nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Savoy* deſired, and was indulged ſo many Delays, that it ſpun out to the firſt of *September*.

The Emperour being in pain about the Negotiation, ſent to *Turin*, Count *de Mansfeld*, one of his chief Miniſters, to diſſuade the Duke from uniting with *France*. Abbot *Grimani*, (afterwards Cardinal) was alſo there in the Name of the Emperour, who had great Confidence in him.

Prince *Eugene* was at *Turin* at the ſame Time, and Marquiſs *de Leganes*, Governour of the *Milaneze*, came frequently to that City. 'Twas very much the Intereſt of theſe Miniſters, in caſe they could not quite put a ſtop to the Treaty, to retard the Concluſion of it, and make us loſe our Campaign. The Duke of *Savoy* was reſolutely determined to conclude it; for ſuch advantageous Offers were made him, that he did not know how to refuſe them. But on the other Side, he could hardly prevail upon himſelf to break openly with his antient Allies, and eſpecially to quit the Command of the Imperial Army, in order to Head, from Time to Time, that of *France*, as his Treaty would oblige him to do. As to his Majeſty, he purchaſed

chaſed this Peace at too dear a Price, to leave a Continuation of the War in *Italy*; and the Emperour and *Spain* would be obliged, either to ſign the Neutrality, or attack the *Milaneze*. The Preparations were all making for this; and we had an abundance of all Things neceſſary for the Succeſs of it. 1696.

The King's Army, compoſed of Sixty-two Battalions and ſourſcore Squadrons, began to move the 28th of *Auguſt*, and marched towards *Turin*, in order to croſs the *Doria* near that City. We were joined by ten Battalions and ſeventeen Squadrons of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Troops. Moſt of the General Officers went and paid their Compliments to the Duke. His Royal Highneſs gave Marquiſs *de Villars* the higheſt Teſtimonies of his Eſteem, and told him that he had heard of his Campaigns. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſurveyed this Prince very attentively; and from the firſt Converſations he had with him whether publick or private, he diſcovered in him a profound Diſcernment, and the greateſt Juſtneſs of Thought; a little Slowneſs in his Speech, but this always vaſtly clear; and the Duke, at firſt ſight, ſhowed himſelf to be a Man of ſuperiour Genius.

1696. The Troops of the Emperour and of the King of *Spain*, which were very inferiour to thoſe of the King, ſeemed as tho' they intended to take ſome Poſts near *Cajal*; but we were ſenſible, that neither Art nor Nature could furniſh them with any ſtrong enough, to make Head againſt an Army ſo greatly ſuperiour to them.

The Army paſſed the *Doria-Baltea*, a River whoſe Rapidity, and the great Number of Rocks in it, made the Paſſage very troubleſome to the Horſes. In ſome Places they were even obliged to ſwim, if they went but to ever ſo little a Diſtance from the Ford. Marquiſs *de Villars*, whoſe Employment obliged him to ſuperintend the Paſſage of the Cavalry, poſted below the Place where they were croſſing, a Line of Cavalry, in Places where the Horſes could ſtand; in order to ſave, by this means, thoſe who ſhould happen to fall in croſſing over; but notwithſtanding all theſe Precautions, we loſt ten or twelve Troopers and a Quarter-Maſter, who was forced away by the Current, and could not be ſaved by the Troopers poſted below.

The Army marched but ſlow, and his Royal Highneſs obtained a Suſpenſion of coming to Action till the 15th, on which Day

Day he had engaged to Head his Majeſty's Army. 1696.

'Twas natural to ſuppoſe, that we muſt go and beſiege *Valenza*, from the indiſpenſable Neceſſity we were under of making uſe of the *Po*, to tranſport our Stores of every kind. This River being very low at that Seaſon, the Boats could go but half loaded.

The Duke of *Savoy* did not join the Army till the 17th, and the ſame Honours were paid him as to the King.

We inveſted *Valenza* the 20th. Count *Teſſé* ſtaid on the other Side of the *Po*. Mr. *de Larré* and the Grand-Prior were in the Quarters of the Duke which began at the *Po*, above *Valenza*, and extended to that of Marſhal *de Catinat*, which ended at a Ditch or hollow Way, about the Center of the Line. Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Quarters were on the Mountains towards *Aleſſandria*. Marquiſs *de Vins* occupied the Plain, from the Foot of the Mountains to the *Po*, below *Valenza*, the Outworks of which appeared in good Condition. The Garriſon that defended it conſiſted of two Battalions of *Lorrain*, two of *Wirtemberg*, Troops of the Emperour; two of *Steynow*, Troops of *Bavaria*, and ſix Battalions of Troops of the Government of *Milan*. 'Twas very fine Weather; the Can-

1696. non and Stores of every kind, notwithſtanding the Fall of the *Po*, arrived in as great Diligence as could have been deſired. In the mean time, Count *de Mansfeld* and Marquiſs *de Leganes* frequently ſent Couriers, and often declared, that they were ready to accept of the Neutrality; but 'tis probable this was done merely to amuſe us, ſince they never came to a Concluſion.

The Negotiations were ſtill continued; and, beſides the Couriers of Marquiſs *de Leganes* and Count *de Mansfeld*, the frequent Journies of Marquiſs *de St. Thomas* to *Pavia*, ſhowed plainly, that the Duke of *Savoy* did not deſire, and that the Enemy were afraid, of coming to an Action.

Nevertheleſs, the Trenches were opened the Night of the 24th. The Duke of *Savoy*, altho' he was perſuaded that the Enemy would ſoon come to Terms, he yet would often hazard his Perſon, and ſhow the *French*, (frequently without the leaſt Neceſſity for it) that he was not afraid of Muſket-balls. He walked, defenceleſs, without the Trench; and, in a word, did Things which would ſcarce be pardoned in a Volunteer, who was making his firſt Campaign.

The City of *Valenza* appeared to us a good Strong-hold, things being brought

to

to almoſt a ſingle Attack. The Governour was *Colmenero*, afterwards ſo renowned, and who remained for ever Governour of the Caſtle of *Milan*, tho' he ſo often changed his Sovereign. 1696.

The Siege advanced: Marquiſs *de Villars* commanded the Trenches the 30th of *September*, when the Enemy made a conſiderable Sally. He marched againſt them with the Head of the Trenches. Marquiſs *du Chatelet* Colonel of Horſe, heading his Squadron, repulſed them to the Covert-way. *Beſbre*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, was very dangerouſly wounded on this occaſion.

During this Siege, the Garriſon of *Aleſſandria*, which was very ſtrong in Cavalry, went daily in queſt of our Forragers; and their Parties of Horſe, ſuſtained by Foot, which could eaſily be poſted in a Country full of hollow-ways; were often ſucceſsful. They defeated a Party of three hundred Horſe, commanded by Chevalier *de la Ferronaye*, a very brave Man who was taken Priſoner, after having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, to keep the Troops together. Two Captains of Horſe were killed on the ſame Occaſion.

Some time after, Mr. *de Maurci*, being on his Duty of Quarter-Maſter of Horſe, was defeated.

1696. He marched, a ſecond Time, with three hundred Horſe, and three hundred Foot, to cover a Forrage towards *Aleſſandria*, when a thouſand Horſe ſallied out of the Town, and again attacked Mr. *de Mauroy*. Now it happened that Marquiſs *de Villars* riding among the Guards of Horſe, ſaw the Attack. Immediately he made two Horſe Guards advance on two ſmall Eminencies, the Backparts of which were out of the Enemy's Sight. Theſe two Troops ſtopped there firſt; when the Troops who were repulſed, and mixed with a great Number of Forragers, knowing Marquiſs *de Villars*, ſet up a great Shout. They then, of their own accord, faced about to the Enemy, when theſe not doubting but thoſe Troops ſaw a conſiderable Body in the Vallies, lying behind the two ſmall Troops abovementioned, began to retire. Marquiſs *de Villars* taking Advantage of this Motion, made thoſe two Troops advance two hundred Paces forward; and drew up, behind him, ſome Forragers who were aſſembled; when the Enemy repaſſed a Rivulet with the utmoſt Diligence. The Head of the Regiments of Dragoons of *Wartigny* and *Morſan* came up that Moment. Marquiſs *de Wartigny*, a Man of great Bravery, was preſent on this occaſion, tho' afflicted with

with a violent Fever; and Marquiſs *de* 1696.
Villars, ſeeing his Forces increaſed, march-
ed towards the Enemy who were covered
with a little Rivulet, and endeavoured to
croſs it.

And now Marſhal *de Catinat* appeared. But whilſt he was endeavouring to aſſemble a greater Number of Troops, in order to charge with more Advantage; the Enemy, between whom and *Aleſſandria* there lay only a large Plain, did not loſe a Moment, but advanced to that City with the utmoſt ſpeed.

During this the Siege advanced, but we met with more Difficulties than had been foreſeen. The Garriſon which, as we before obſerved, was very ſtrong, ſtopped us by their frequent Sallies; and the Ground being marſhy in many Places, 'twas with the utmoſt Difficulty we fixed and changed our Batteries.

The 7th we attempted the Lodgment of the Covert-way, and at the ſame time attacked a half-moon, which our Granadiers firſt entered by the *Gorge*; but the Workmen not following quick enough, and improper Meaſures being taken, we left the Half-moon, and failed of the Covert-way. This ill Succeſs might have delayed the taking of the Town ſome Days; but Marquiſs *de St. Thomas*'s re-

1696. turn, the 8th, with the Treaty of Neutrality, which had been agreed to upon our Terms, put an End to the Siege and the War at the ſame time.

By this Treaty, which was very advantageous in the preſent Juncture, the King of *France* drove the *Auſtrians* out of *Italy*, by forcing them to recal their Troops from it; and at the ſame time opened a Paſſage to his own, by help of the Duke of *Savoy*, whom he drew off from their Alliance, and engaged in his own. 'Twas this made the Emperour and the King of *Spain* ſo very unwilling to agree to that Treaty; and they never would have ſigned it, had we not threatned to ſeize upon the *Milaneze*.

The Neutrality being accepted, the Duke of *Savoy* left the Army the next Morning, and ſet out for *Turin*, where Count *de Mansfeld* arrived the Day after. By this Treaty, the Emperour's Troops were to begin their march the 20th of *October*, but the Generals gave their Word of Honour, that they ſhould move the 15th. They marched them off, a thouſand at a time, thro' the *Griſons*; and his Majeſty's Forces were to draw off in like manner in proportion to their Number; ſo that, when the laſt thouſand of the Imperialiſts evacuated the *Milaneze*, the laſt Body

Body of the King's Troops evacuated it the ſame time. The Number of Squadrons and Battalions on each Side were computed for that purpoſe. During this they were to furniſh us Hay out of the *Milaneze*, but no Corn. The *Spaniards* gave for Hoſtages, on this Occaſion, Meſſieurs *de Trivulcio* and *de Borgomaneiro*; and on the Part of his Majeſty were given, Meſſieurs *de Teſſé* and *de Bachevilliers*. 1696.

As the Forces on each Side, were longer in evacuating *Italy* than had been ſuppoſed, Marquiſs *de Villars* was very deſirous of ſeeing *Milan*, and took with him Count *de Coigny* and Marquiſs *de Montperoux*.

Mr. *de Leganes* paid them all the Honours imaginable in his Capital; and ordered *Colmeñero* to attend Marquiſs *de Villars* to the Carthuſians of *Pavia*, the greateſt Curioſity in all the *Milaneze*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was deſirous of ſeeing the Field of Battle, where *Francis* I. was defeated and taken Priſoner. He afterwards returned to *Milan*, and there met with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with whom he had renewed his Acquaintance in the Wars of *Hungary*. This Prince was greatly pleaſed to ſee the Marquiſs, and always indulged him ſingular Marks of his Friendſhip, which the Wars

wherein

1696. wherein they afterwards were engaged one againſt the other, could never diminiſh.

This Journey to *Milan* was ſhort, but one perpetual Series of Pleaſure; and the Marquiſs went, as is the Cuſtom of that Country, to hear a wonderful fine piece of Muſic, ſung in Convents by Nuns of the greateſt Beauty and Politeneſs.

Marquiſs *de Villars* returned to *Turin*. Marquiſs *de Montperoux* ſtaid at *Arona*, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, but recovered in a few Days. The Duke of *Savoy* gave Marquiſs *de Villars* the higheſt Marks of his Friendſhip and Eſteem; and a little after, the Marquiſs ſet out for the Court.

This Year was remarkable for the Death of three Monarchs, *viz. John*, *Czar* of *Muſcovy*; *Mary-Ann* of *Auſtria*, Queen-Dowager of *Spain*; and *John* III. King of *Poland*.

1697. Marquiſs *de Villars* was appointed this Year, to ſerve in the Army of *Germany*, under Marſhal *de Choiſeuil*. This General, who indulged him the higheſt Confidence, aſſured him, that his future Campaigns ſhould not be ſo barren of Events as all the foregoing ones; and that he opened his Mind to him, in order that they in concert, might endeavour to acquire ſome Glory; the whole being ſeaſoned with Compliments which the Reader

der may eaſily figure to himſelf; Mar- 1697.
quiſs *de Villars*, after thanking him for his Confidence, ſaid, that the Advantage of the Service was always his chief Object; and that before he projected any Actions, he muſt firſt know the Deſigns of the Court, whoſe Intereſt it ſometimes was, not to run any hazard. The Marſhal aſſured the Marquiſs, that his Majeſty ſeemed deſirous of coming to an Action, upon which *Villars* replied; *On this Foundation I will not preſume to adviſe you to it, but with the utmoſt Precaution.*

The Reader is to know, that Marſhal *de Choiſeuil* laboured under a Defect, often of the moſt fatal Conſequence to a General, which is, that his Sight was very bad. By the help of a ſmall Glaſs, he could diſtinguiſh tolerably well a Steeple, a Tower, or any ſuch Object; but it was quite impoſſible for him to diſcern the Motions of an Army in a Plain. Hence he was obliged to have recourſe to ſome other Perſon for Advice, and as Marquiſs *de Villars* was ever deſirous of exerting himſelf for the Benefit of the Service, ſo he was willing to oblige a General who gave him his Confidence without the leaſt Reſerve.

The King's Army croſſed the *Rhine*, and pitched their Tents, at the firſt open-

ing

1697. ing of the Campaign, to the Left of *Raſtatt*, and to the Right of *Kupenheim*. This is the moſt advantageous Poſt imaginable, either for taking a View, and waiting calmly the coming up of an Enemy, or for attacking him, if a General thinks his Troops ſuperior with regard to Numbers or Bravery; and this was juſt our Caſe. His Majeſty's Army, which had the Rivulet of *Raſtatt* in Front, and their Wings poſted to no leſs Advantage, could be in no fear from an Army that was one third Part leſs numerous.

Some Days after, Advice was brought that the Enemy was come and encamped behind *Dourlac*. Then Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaid to Marſhal *de Choiſeuil*; *You may now do as you pleaſe. The Enemy cannot approach you, but by croſſing a Plain three or four Leagues in Extent. If you are deſirous of engaging, you need but ſend out frequent Parties, to know when they will croſs the* Etlinguen. *That before you, the Bottom of which is very ſound, may eaſily be croſſed; and you will be able to come up with the Enemy in the Plain.*

This hint was immediately taken. Preparations were ordered for the March without declaring whither; and the ſeveral Diſpoſitions were made without any

one's being able to penetrate upon what Deſign. 1697.

Some Days afrer, *Coqſontaine*, Lieutenant-Colonel of Horſe, and a good Officer, ſent us Word, at Day-break, that the Prince of *Baden* was beginning to croſs the Rivulet of *Etlinguen*. That Moment, Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was already on Horſeback, flew to Marſhal *de Choiſeuil*, and ſaid to him: *The Enemy are now where you wiſhed them to be. I'll fly to* Coqſontaine, *and will take five hundred Horſe of the Right, that I may be able to ſuſtain him; and to diſcover, at the ſame time, whether the Enemy intend only to croſs the River, or Deſign to march up to us. Your Diſpoſitions are already made; and in the mean time, you may order the whole Army to croſs the Rivulet of* Raſtatt; *for 'tis the ſame thing, whether you go and attack the Enemy a little nearer, or farther up, in the Plain.*

Marſhal *de Choiſeuil*, now he was coming up with the Enemy, did not ſeem ſo eager of engaging as before: But, on the contrary, would not let Marquiſs *de Villars* go away, which ſurprized him very much. Says the Marquiſs, *I am abſolutely of no uſe to you here, but may be of ſervice at the Head of your firſt Parties, by ſending you Advice of the Motions of the Enemy, and*

1697. *and by that means give you time to extend your Army. We already know where to poſt our Wings, and therefore I'll fly to* Coq-fontaine. He found that the Enemy had not yet quite croſſed the *Etlinguen*, but were drawing up in order of Battle. He ſent *Officer* on Officer to the Marſhal, to inform him of all he ſaw, and engage him to advance forward.

In the mean time, the Enemy's Huſſars began to charge briſkly *Coqfontaine*; but *Villars* having brought the five hundred Horſe in fight, a thouſand Paces behind, in order to draw nearer *Coqfontaine*'s little Body, and not expoſe them; he always kept his Eye towards *Raſtatt*, perſuaded that the Head of his Majeſty's Army would ſoon appear on the other Side of the Rivulet. Inſtead of this, Marſhal *de Choiſeuil* came up to him, followed only by four Squadrons of the Gendarmerie. Says *Villars*; *We ſhan't defeat the Enemy with theſe four Squadrons. But does your Army croſs the Rivulet?* The Marſhal was a little aſhamed to own, that he had not yet ſent Orders for that purpoſe. *But the Enemy's Army*, replied *Villars*, *is out their march. If they come within half a League of our Rivulet, before your whole Army has croſſed and is well poſted, it will be impoſſible for you to advance one Pace*;

in

in which caſe, you'll give me leave to ſay, I don't know how the Battle may go. 1697.

However, the Marſhal did nothing all the time but take his Glaſs, and ogle the Enemy as well as he could; ſo that we returned in our Camp, at One in the After-noon. — After having panted ſo eagerly for Battle, we immediately began to intrench our ſelves on *Kupenheim* Hills, at the Head of the Village of *Raſtatt*, along the Rivulet.

The Enemy poſted themſelves within Cannot-ſhot of us; and after preſenting us Battle, (during four or five Days) which they plainly ſaw we were reſolved to avoid, they alſo intrenched themſelves.

One Day, Marſhal *de Choiſeuil*, ſtanding on *Kupenheim* Hills, and not ſeeing Marquiſs *de Villars*, cried aloud; *I had a great Deſire to attack thoſe People; when they croſſed the Plain.* The Marquiſs hearing this came up, and ſaid, *'Twould have been well, Sir, if you had; and you might eaſily have gratified your Deſire.* The Marſhal was a little confounded at this Anſwer; for he was willing that Marquiſs *de Villars* ſhould be ſuppoſed to have contributed to this Inactivity; as, on the other Side, the Marquiſs was very deſirous to inform the whole Army of the contrary.

The

1697. The Armies continued in ſight ſix Weeks, after which, that of his Majeſty, who poſſeſſed ſeveral Bridges over the *Rhine*, which forms the large Iſland of Fort *Lewis*, withdrew into it, and ſpent the Remainder of the Campaign, in the the uſual Camps on the other Side of the *Rhine*.

News was then brought us of the general Peace of *Ryswick*, ſo that Marquiſs *de Villars* had no more to do, but to return to Court.

The Marquiſs's Relations were now more urgent with him than ever to marry. Several Matches were propoſed, and the Conditions he required were very reaſonable; but the Difficulties which aroſe, beſides his Indifference with regard to Marriage, made him lay all thoughts of it aſide; and he now reſolved to devote himſelf entirely to Negotiations, for which an Opportunity preſented itſelf.

His Catholick Majeſty, was reduced to ſo low a State of Health, that 'twas preſumed he could not live above a Year or two; and by his Death, the return of the War which had juſt before been ended, ſeemed unavoidable. Now how difficult muſt it be to reconcile ſuch powerful, ſuch ſelf-intereſted Claimants?

As

As this was an Affair of ſo much Importance, it rouzed all *Europe*. His Majeſty nominated the Counts of *Harcourt*, of *Tallard*, and Marquiſs *de Villars*, for the Courts of *Madrid*, *London*, and *Vienna*, where the moſt important part of the Negotiation was to be carried on. 1697.

A few Days after, that Marquiſs *de Villars* had been appointed to go to *Vienna*, he was ſo unhappy as to loſe his Father. He was ſenſibly affected with his Death; for he loved and honoured a very worthy Parent, who, had not Fortune oppoſed him, would have roſe to the greateſt Honours. Marquiſs *de Villars* made over to his Mother, his Brother, and his Siſters, the ſmall Eſtate he had left him; and ſpared out of his own the ſeveral Portions, in order, not to leſſen his Father's Eſtate, the intire Income of which he gave to his Mother, a Lady diſtinguiſhed by her fine Senſe, Virtue, and Reſolution.

This Year, a Succeſſor was to be given to the King of *Poland*, who died the Year before. *Don Livio Odeſcalchi*, Nephew of *Innocent* XI, appeared as a Candidate, and offered immenſe Sums to the Republic, provided the Crown ſhould be ſet on his Head; but the Meaneſs of his Genius and Talents loſt it him. Prince *Alexander*, ſecond

1697. ſecond Son to the late King, was mentioned on this occaſion; but he was not old enough, according to the Laws; and his Faction had ſo little Credit, that the Queen his Mother was forced to remove from *Warſaw*, during the Diet. All things ſeemed to conſpire in favour of the Prince of *Conti*; when the Pope's Nuncio and the Emperour's Embaſſador declared in favour of the Duke of *Saxony*. In the mean time, the Prince of *Conti* was proclaimed by Cardinal *Radzicyouſki*, Primate of the Kingdom; and two Hours after, *Frederick-Auguſtus*, Duke of *Saxony*, was alſo proclaimed by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. Each of theſe Factions diſpatched a Courier to the elected Princes. The Elector arrived firſt, ſeized upon *Cracovia*, and was crowned there by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. The Prince of *Conti* arrived a little after, but too late. Moſt of the Generals, of the Republick's Army had been brought over, and declared for him who had either given, or promiſed, moſt Money. For this Reaſon, the Prince of *Conti*, thinking it would be to derogate from his Dignity to conteſt any longer, reſolved to leave *Poland*, and return to *France*.

1698. To return to Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was appointed to carry on the Negotiation at *Vienna*, he took with him a Train ſuitable

ſuitable to an Embaſſador, tho' the Miniſters of his *Gallic* Majeſty at the Emperour's Court, could enjoy no higher Title than that of Envoy Extraordinary; becauſe the Title of Embaſſador would give them the Precedency of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, who makes a very ſplendid figure at *Vienna*; the Union of the two Branches, generally making a *Spaniſh* Embaſſador be conſidered (and to have proportionable Credit) as one of the Emperour's Miniſters. In fine, the *French* have always thought proper not to have a Miniſter at the Emperour's Court, by the Title of Embaſſador; to prevent his being engaged in perpetual Conteſts with the Embaſſador of *Spain*. 1698.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ſent from *Paris*, three Coaches with eight Horſes each; four Waggons with the ſame Number of Horſes, and five or ſix Caravans, to carry the Furniture he deſigned to uſe in *Vienna*; ſix Pages, four Gentlemen, and a great Number of Domeſticks. In the mean time, as he always valued himſelf for the order he kept and his prudent Œconomy, in the midſt of the Expences ſuitable to his Character; he took the Liberty to inform his Majeſty, how he had acted on this occaſion. He aſked the King what he thought the Expence, of ſending

1698. ſending theſe ſeveral Things to *Vienna*, might amount to. Thoſe who were near the King, either to pleaſe Marquiſs *de Villars*, or to make a juſt Eſtimate, computed it at forty or fifty thouſand Livres. *Gentlemen*, ſays he, *it has not coſt me a Piſtole.* The King ſurprized at his Anſwer, aſked how that was poſſible, *Sir*, replied *Villars*; *He who would make a ſplendid Figure, muſt be an Œconomiſt, and ſet his Head at Work.* The Courtiers did not know what would be the reſult of this Preamble, when *Villars* added, *Sir, My Equipage ſet out, juſt at the time that your Cavalry was diſbanding. Your Majeſty knows very well, that Trooper's Horſes were ſold at Twenty-five Livres each; I bought up an Hundred at* Verdun, Mouſon, Châlons, *and other Towns. Theſe, after bringing to* Paris, *coſt me but Thirty-one or Thirty-two Livres each. They were but four Days in that City, and twenty Days from* Paris *to* Ulm; *in this manner not one of theſe, with his keeping, amounted to more than ſixty Livres. They were ſold, one with another, at* Ulm *for an hundred and fifty Livres; Conſequently the Profit I have made by the Sale of theſe Horſes, will defray the reſt of my Journey.* The King applauded *Villars*'s good Senſe and Contrivance; and ſaid on this occaſion, that many Perſons declared

declared they ruined themſelves in his Ser- 1698.
vice, tho' he gave ten times more than any of his Predeceſſors. This Digreſſion will not be improper to ſhow the Œconomy of Marquiſs *de Villars*, which he always practiced in the Command of the [illegible]s, over which he was General. And indeed 'tis certain, as will appear hereafter, that he ſaved his Majeſty in the Campaign of *Landaw* and *Friburg*, upwards of twenty-five Millions.

We are now entering upon one of the moſt important Circumſtances of Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Life. A Negotiation is now going to be ſet on Foot, the occaſion of which is as follows.

Lewis XIV, and Queen *Maria-Thereſa*, had renounced, in the moſt authentic manner, the Crown of *Spain*. The Emperour *Leopold* had married the Queen's younger Siſter, and ſhe had not renounced her Pretenſions to that Throne. She had but one Daughter, who was married to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and tho' this Princeſs had but a bad State of Health, ſhe yet brought forth a Son in the tenth Year of their Marriage.

The King of *Spain* and the Emperour agreed afterwards, to ſettle on this Son the Empire of *Spain* and the *Indies*; but the King on one Side, and the Emperour

1698. on the other, did not reſign all claim to ſome Part of that great Monarchy. The King would not agree to the Renunciations, and the Earl of *Portland*, in his Embaſſy in *France*, was partly made acquainted with his Majeſty's Deſigns.

Marquiſs *de Harcourt*, who ſet out firſt for *Spain*, repreſented to the *Spaniards*, that they would be involved in a dangerous War, in caſe the Dauphin, or his Children, were not recognized as chief Heirs.

The Reader may judge of the great Ferment the Court of *Spain* was in at that time. The Queen, Mother to his Majeſty, had prevailed with him to make one Will; and afterwards the Queen his Wife, of the *Palatine* Houſe, would make him draw up another. The whole lay between the Archduke, Son to the Emperour, and the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*. The *Spaniards* being divided, wrought a like Influence on the weak Mind of their Sovereign. The Queen was not beloved; and her Confident, *Perlips* by Name, and a Monk, her Confeſſor, who governed her, created her Majeſty a great many Enemies. The King of *Spain*, urged and tormented to nominate a Succeſſor, declared at laſt, to free himſelf from their Importunities, that he would not take this

Reſolut ion

Reſolution till he was at the point of Death, and receiving the Viaticum. Marquiſs *d'Harcourt* imagined that it would be neceſſary, at this Juncture, to ſtrengthen the Party he was forming at *Madrid*, to frighten the oppoſite Cabal, and adviſe the marching of Troops; and accordingly, a Body was brought forward to the Frontiers. 1698.

On the other Side, Count *Tallard* negotiated with King *William*, who was treating about *Holland*, as for his own Kingdoms.

At the ſame time, the *Sieur Hoop* was ſent to the Emperour, in quality of Envoy, with orders to negotiate the Affairs of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*.

Hitherto, his *Gallic* Majeſty had not entered into any Negotiation with the Emperour, who, on the other Side, being deſirous of perſuading all his Allies, that he had the higheſt Regard and Friendſhip for them, was not for that Reaſon, urgent to ſend a Miniſter to the King. This Circumſtance retarded the Departure of Marquiſs *de Villars*, who did not ſet out till about the End of *June*.

As he had been intimately acquainted with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* in the Imperial Armies in *Hungary*, and had received great Teſtimonies of that Prince's Friend-

1698. ſhip, he turned out of his Road, to go and pay him a Viſit at *Vilbade*, where he was drinking the Waters and making uſe of the Bath, five Leagues from *Baden*. In their Converſation, this Prince ſpake with freedom enough on the State of the Court of *Vienna*. He was the Emperour's Lieutenant; a Poſt which, in ſome Meaſure, is equal to that of Conſtable in *France*, ſince it gives a right to command all the Marſhals. But he was of too haughty a Diſpoſition, to contract a ſtrict Intimacy with the Miniſters. He was even at that time at Variance with Count *de Kinſky*, who was then thought to have the greateſt Credit over the Emperour; and this Enmity, joined to the little Correſpondence he held with the other Miniſters, drew an odium upon this Prince, from which his exalted Birth and perſonal Merit ought to have ſecured him, were it poſſible for theſe to be a ſufficient Rampart againſt Court-Malice.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ſpent a whole Day with him and the Princeſs of *Baden*, a Lady of great Beauty, Virtue, and Merit. He afterwards came up with his Train near *Ulm*, whither he had before ſent, to have three Barges got ready, to carry himſelf, with all his Coaches and Equipage to *Vienna*.

The

The ſeveral Negotiations were already 1698.
begun at *London* and *Madrid*. The firſt
related to the Diviſion of the *Spaniſh*
Monarchy, the chief Claimants whereof
were the Dauphin, the Electoral Prince,
and the Archduke. His Majeſty ſupported
the Claim of the Dauphin, as moſt valid,
the Emperour that of the Archduke, and
Great-Britain and *Holland* that of the Elec-
toral Prince. In this poſture of Affairs, the
King and the Emperour, wanting to gain
over the pretended Arbiters, did not diſ-
cover, outwardly, that they were deſirous
of coming to an Underſtanding, without
the Participation of the other Powers.

The Emperour appointed Count *de*
Walſtein his Envoy in *France*. Thoſe
two Princes were very careful not to act
too openly, for fear leſt either of them
ſhould make his Overtures of dangerous
conſequence, by diſcovering them to *Great-*
Britain. Such was the State of Things,
when Marquiſs *de Villars* arrived in *Vi-*
enna. Count *de Walſtein*, only Son to the
Lord High-Chamberlain, and nominated,
as was before obſerved, Envoy to *France*,
paid him a Viſit immediately upon his
Arrival; and that very Day would oblige
him to be preſent at an Entertainment
which the Emperour gave in his Gardens.
Marquiſs *de Villars* deſired to be excuſed,

1698. ſaying, that having not yet had the Honour to ſee his Imperial Majeſty, 'twould be improper for him to come into his Preſence. Count *de Walſtein* anſwered, *Seats are already prepared for you, where you may ſee every thing without being ſeen.* He even hinted to him, that ſo [redacted] giving umbrage by this, he on the contrary would make his Court.

At laſt *Villars* acquieſced, and going to the Gardens, was introduced to Count *Walſtein*'s Lady and Siſter, who, with three other Ladies, placed him in the midſt of them. The Emperour turned his Head to look at the Marquiſs, as did the King of the *Romans* ſeveral times. From thence he was conducted to the Aſſembly, which is formed of the moſt conſiderable Lords and Ladies of the Court; the Miniſters and Embaſſadors are always invited at it; and the moſt important Affairs are ſometimes ſpoke of there.

'Tis a Cuſtom in this Court, which could not be eſtabliſhed in that of the King at *Verſailles*, the want of which is nevertheleſs very inconvenient to all Foreigners of Diſtinction, and even to *Frenchmen*; ſince no Aſſemblies are held even in *Paris*. At *Vienna*, on the contrary, there is always an Aſſembly at ſome Perſon of Quality's, on which occaſion the Apartments

Apartments are finely illuminated. Six or ſeven Rooms are filled with Perſons of the higheſt Diſtinction both for Birth and Quality; none of an inferiour Rank are ſeen among them; and ſome Perſons of leſs Figure having attempted to come there, met with ſo ill a Reception, that they did not dare to hazard a ſecond Repulſe. 1698.

The better to underſtand what follows, it may be proper to give a juſt Picture of the Court of *Vienna*. To begin with the Emperour *Leopold*. This Monarch, tho' very diſagreeable in his outward Form, was poſſeſſed of great Qualities; he was a very religious, juſt, ſenſible Prince, and indefatigable in his Application to State-Affairs. His only fault was his being too irreſolute; for tho' he often had a more juſt turn of thinking than his Miniſters, he yet was a little too diffident of his own Underſtanding, which made him acquieſce always with the plurality of Voices. Thus this Prince has been drove from his Capital, and often reduced to the greateſt Extremities, his Reign has nevertheleſs been very glorious; he extended further the Hereditary Countries, and atchieved greater Conqueſts than moſt of his Predeceſſors.

1698. The Empreſs *Eleonora*, Daughter of the Elector *Palatine*, was a very virtuous Princeſs, who ſpent her whole time in ſerving God, and pleaſing the Emperour; in giving the Archducheſſes an Education worthy of their Birth, and providing for the Neceſſities of the Poor. Nevertheleſs, ſhe yet would concern herſelf with Affairs of State; ſhe was haughty, and protected very ſtrenuouſly thoſe who adhered to her. Stateſmen were ſometimes obliged to give an Account to her, which ſometimes occaſioned a change in the Miniſtry.

The King of the *Romans* was young, and ſtrongly addicted to his Pleaſures. He was a Prince of good Senſe, but his Mind was ſtill unſettled, and might be brought to either Good or Evil. In a Party of Hunting, in which Marquiſs *de Villars* was, he diſcovered an Impatience that gave the Emperour ſome Uneaſineſs. After the Bears were drove into the Toils, that Prince came out of the Tent in which the Emperour and all Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction were, in order to ride and attack the Animals above-mentioned; when the Page who carried his Pole, not being quick enough, the King of the *Romans* gave him a Box o'th Ear. The Emperour chid him for it,

after

after he was returned into the Tent, and cryed, *What vexes me moſt is, that Foreigners ſhould have ſeen you.* 1698.

The Archduke, then but ſeventeen, ſeemed to be of a quite different Diſpoſition. He was extremely mild, on which occaſion it was ſaid at Court, that the King of the *Romans* had his Mother's Haughtineſs; and the Archduke, the Gentleneſs and Humanity of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

To come to the Miniſters, the Prince *de Dietrichtein*, being Lord High-Steward, was, by his Employment at the Head of them; but, his advanced Age, (which had weakned his Mind) would not permit him to exerciſe any of the miniſterial Functions. He paid a Viſit, in a dying Condition, to Marquiſs *de Villars*; and indeed it was the laſt he ever made.

Count *Kinſki*, Chancellor of *Bohemia*, and the oldeſt Counſellor of State, formed a Council called the *Deputation*, compoſed of Count *Staremberg* Preſident of War, [redacted] Vice-Chancellor of the [redacted] and Miniſter for foreign Affairs, [redacted] *Staremberg* Vice-Preſident of the Chamber, and conſequently at the Head of the Finances, becauſe the vacant Poſt of Preſident was not filled. As Count *Kinſki* was the oldeſt Counſellor of State, the *Deputation* met at his Houſe

1698. Houſe. *Kinſki* gave the Emperour an account of the Debates, and from that time he was looked upon as Prime-Miniſter, without enjoying the Title. This Nobleman was certainly very worthy of that Employment, as well for his great Experience, he having been chief of the Embaſſadors at the Treaties of *Nimeguen* and *Colen*; as for his perfect Diſintereſtedneſs, he having, at his Death, five hundred thouſand Livres leſs than he poſſeſſed, when he firſt began to ſerve the Emperour.

Count *Staremberg*,, the oldeſt of the Velt-Marſhals and Preſident of the Council of War, was already very far advanced in Years. He was eſſentially a Man of Honour, but his Views were very contracted. He had formerly been appointed to defend *Vienna*, and ſaved that City, not ſo much by the Courage of the Imperial Forces, as by the ill Conduct of the *Turks*.

Count *de Kaunits*, with whom [illegible] *de Villars* had tranſacted [illegible] gotiations of *Bavaria*, in wh[illegible] them had endeavoured to br[illegible] Elector to the Imperial or G[illegible] intereſt, was a Man of great Senſe, and had Abilities for the greateſt Projects. This Nobleman, after the Death of Count *Kinſki*,

Kinſki, ſucceeded him in the Emperour's Favour. 1698.

Count *Gondaker Staremberg*, having but very little Experience, had as yet no great Reputation; but his Abilities were greatly eſteemed, and he always continued in the Miniſtry.

Theſe ſeveral Imperial Miniſters treated Marquiſs *de Villars* with the utmoſt politeneſs; but then, purſuant to the prevailing Spirit of the Court, and the Orders of the Sovereign, they were not willing to have the *Sieur Hoop*, who was charged with the Affairs both of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, ſuſpect, that his Imperial Majeſty was deſirous to treat, in any manner, with Marquiſs *de Villars*; and therefore, to remove every ſuſpicion of that kind, they never invited the Marquiſs to any Entertainments, tho' all the reſt of the Court, the Ladies as well as Gentlemen, viſited him.

After the Marquiſs had been admitted to Audience of the Emperour, he offered, purſuant to his Orders, the Mediation of his *Gallic* Majeſty, to haſten a Peace with the *Turks*; and mentioned it to Count *Kinſki*. This Miniſter, after receiving his Maſter's Orders, diſcovered the utmoſt Gratitude for his Majeſty's good Intentions. He added, that the

1698. King's Offers would be accepted with Joy, in caſe a Treaty was to begin; but as that relating to the Peace with the *Turks* was in a manner ended, the Concluſion of it would not be advanced but rather retarded, in caſe they ſhould be obliged to wait for the Anſwers with reſpect to the Offer of this Mediation. 'Twas not probable it would be accepted, ſince, as the Emperour and the King had not yet concerted Matters with regard to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*; it was natural that, upon the King of *Spain*'s demiſe, *France* would be glad to have the Emperour embroiled in War.

In the mean time, the Imperial Miniſters, and thoſe of other Powers who were to aſſiſt at the Treaty of Peace which was negotiating with the *Turks*, did not ſeem to prepare for their Departure. The Court had long preſſed Prince *Eugene* to attempt ſome important Siege, and thoſe of *Temeſwaar* and *Belgrade* only could now be undertaken. The former was ſoon rendred impracticable, by the Arrival of the *Turkiſh* Army before that City; and a great many Obſtacles were thrown in the way of the latter, from the diſtance and difficulty of the Convoys. Beſides, the Imperialiſts muſt have been obliged to croſs a great many Rivers, which often are

are increaſed in that Seaſon, by the falling of the Snows; and this Enterprize might be judged impracticable, ſince Prince *Eugene* did not attempt it. In the mean time, the Imperial Miniſters, perſuaded, that, if the Imperial Army ſhould ſhow a Reſolution, the *Turks* would be more inclined to pacific Meaſures; and, as generally happens, not valuing how difficult ſoever the Commiſſions may be which they give a General; would have the Embaſſadors declare, before the opening of the Congreſs, that the *Turks* had juſt reaſon to fear freſh Loſſes. 1698.

At laſt, the Embaſſadors ſet out very late. Count *Doeting* was nominated chief Embaſſador; and 'twas agreed, that the Negotiations ſhould be carried on under the Walls of *Carlowitz*.

While theſe things were tranſacting, Expreſſes arrived frequently from *Madrid*, with News that the King of *Spain*'s Indiſpoſition increaſed daily, inſomuch that his Death was expected every Moment. But Count *d' Harach*, the Emperour's Embaſſador at *Madrid*, was at laſt of Opinion (after many Alarms) that his Catholick Majeſty might linger out near another Year. This Embaſſador was permitted to return home; and his eldeſt Son being appointed to ſucceed him, he left him

1698. him in *Spain*, and ſet out in the Beginning of *September*.

The Prince of *Schwartzemberg*, Lord High-Steward to the Empreſs, made ſome Overtures to Marquiſs *de Villars*, with regard to a more ſtrict Union between the Emperour and the King, concerning the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion. The Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, who a little after was Cardinal, did the ſame. But Marquiſs *de Villars* had orders only to hear Propoſals; and to take upon him to tranſmit to his Majeſty an Account of whatever ſhould be confided to him.

Some time after Count *Kinſki*, who in reality was Prime-Miniſter, whiſpered him in the Emperour's Chamber, *We ought to be better Friends*. Marquiſs *de Villars* made the ſhort Anſwer following; *'Twont be my Fault if we are not*; to which Count *Kinſki* rejoyned only, *Stay*. This Word, from the Prime-Miniſter, was more important than the long Harangues of the Prince of *Schwartzemberg* and thoſe of *Paſſaw*.

In the mean time, the Marriage of the King of the *Romans* advanced, and the Princeſs of *Hanover* was preferred. The Prince of *Salms*, Lord High-Steward to the King of the *Romans*, whoſe Governour he had been; and by his Lady, who was very

very nearly related to that Princeſs, employed his utmoſt Endeavours to forward this Match. Some Miniſters had ſpoke to Marquiſs *de Villars* about Mademoiſelle, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, whoſe Marriage with the Duke of *Lorrain* was already declared. But the Emperour had not theſe Views; and the Intimacy between theſe two Sovereigns was not great enough, to give Succeſs to them. 1698.

The King of the *Romans* had a Miſtreſs, who wrote to him in very ſharp Terms; and he ſhewed one of her Letters to a Confident, who told Marquiſs *de Villars* the Contents of it. 'Twas a bold Letter, and tallied exactly with the Character of the Lady, with whom Marquiſs *de Villars* ſupt ſometimes. Her Name was *Dorothy de Thaun*. She was tall, well enough ſhaped, and paſt her Bloom, the Charms of which were now quite faded. But to ſupply theſe Defects, ſhe was bold and had experience; Qualities more neceſſary than Beauty, for one who is to be the favourite Miſtreſs of a young Prince. But as the latter had but little ſhare in the Government, the Marquiſs did not think that her Acquaintance could be of much ſervice to his Sovereign.

The chief Buſineſs of the Miniſtry, was, to conclude a Peace as ſpeedily as poſſible with

1698. with the *Turks*, and to take proper Measures about the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion. Their firſt Reſſource was in the Inclinations of the Queen, who was entirely devoted to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But they were under ſome Uneaſineſs, when Advice was ſent from *Madrid*, that Marquiſs *d' Harcourt*, to gain that Princeſs, offered her the Dauphin in Marriage. Theſe, in order to counter-balance this Propoſal, talked of marrying her to the King of the *Romans*. There was a great difference in their Ages; but thoſe who were deſirous they ſhould endeavour to preſerve the Queen in her favourable Diſpoſitions with regard to the Emperour, ſaid, with reſpect to the diſparity of Ages, that the Queen was but three Years older than the Princeſs of *Hanover*, whoſe Marriage with the King of the *Romans* ſeemed reſolved: Nevertheleſs, for this Reaſon, and ſome others, the Departure of the Princeſs of *Hanover* was delayed.

With regard to a Peace with the *Turks*; *Poland* and the Republick of *Venice*, which was not very well treated by the Imperialiſts, prompted the Embaſſadors of the two Powers, to raiſe Obſtacles in its way. But the Emperour, being reſolved to Peace, as well as the Grand Signior, was perſuaded he ſhould ſoon ſee it compleated,

compleated, in ſpite of all the Difficulties. 1698.
The Enemies of Count *Kinſki*, who were very numerous in *Vienna*, did not ſcruple to publiſh, tho' at the hazard of giving Diſpleaſure, that it was not ſo certain.

Some of the Emperour's Miniſters, diſcourſing with Marquiſs *de Villars*, inſiſted always upon a direct Reconciliation between their Sovereign and his *Gallic* Majeſty. They were not in the Secret; and the Hopes that the King of *Spain* would not die ſo ſoon, made *Kinſki*, who really was for a Reconciliation, deſire to wait till a Peace ſhould be concluded with the *Turks*, in order that he might be more favourably heard. This Reaſon was very juſt; ſince, when once this Peace ſhould be concluded, the Emperour might be able to ſupport his Engagements.

In the mean time the Emperour's Miniſters were very urgent for the Reſtitution of *Briſſac*. The demolition of the Bridge over the *Rhine* was a previous Condition, and the King agreed it ſhould be ſo. Poſſibly, his Orders to haſten that demolition were not executed ſo ſpeedily as they might have been; and 'twas ſaid at *Vienna*, that there was a great Combination between the Deſtruction of the Bridge, and the Death of the King of *Spain*. The Event, however, ſhewed the contrary;

for

1698. for the Bridge was demoliſhed, and *Briſſac* reſtored to the Imperialiſts, long before that Prince died. As 'twas not then doubted but it was near at Hand, ſeveral of his Subjects, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, intended to declare for the *French*. The Prince of *Aquaviva*, who was at *Vienna*, made ſeveral Propoſals to Marquiſs *de Villars*, in favour of the principal Noblemen; requiring neither Favours nor Rewards, till they had performed Services.

The Queen of *Poland* arrived at that time in *Vienna* with her Family, that is, with Prince *Alexander* and *Conſtantine*. Prince *James* arrived alſo, with the Princeſs his Conſort, Siſter to the Empreſs.

In a long Converſation which Marquiſs *de Villars* had with her *Poliſh* Majeſty, ſhe employed all the Arguments poſſible, to perſuade him of her ſincere Attachment to the King of *France*. She told him, ſhe had never forgot that ſhe was a *French* Woman; that ſhe was deeply ſenſible of the high Obligations which the late King her Conſort, and her ſelf in particular, had to his *Gallic* Majeſty; that ſhe was not ignorant Endeavours had been uſed to do her ill Offices in *France*, but that ſhe could eaſily clear herſelf of the Imputations with which ſhe was charged.

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She aſſured the Emperour, at the ſame time, that ſhe was in the like Sentiments with regard to him. Abbot *Scarlati*, her Miniſter in whom ſhe repoſed the greateſt Confidence, deſired to have a private Interview with Marquiſs *de Villars* in a Convent, in order to conceal their Conference from the Emperour's Miniſters. This Abbot enforced, with all his Retorick, whatever the Queen had ſaid to him; adding, that a ſpeedy Change might ſoon be expected in *Poland*; whoſe King, he declared, was ſo obnoxious to the *Poles* by his Conduct, that they would not let him ſit a Year on the Throne. 1698.

The Queen of *Poland* deſired, in caſe of a Change, to obtain the King's Protection for Prince *Alexander* her ſecond Son; and this preference of the younger Brother to the elder, loſt the Houſe of *Sobieſky* the Crown of *Poland*. And indeed, had the Queen's Adherents, and thoſe of Prince *James* united together, this Prince would have obtained the Crown, in ſpite of all the other Competitors.

'Tis certain that great Troubles broke out in *Poland*, which the Affair of *Elbing* increaſed; and the new King was not yet well ſeated on his Throne. The Biſhop of *Kiovia*, the *Poliſh* Envoy at *Vienna*, deſired a Conference with Marquiſs

de

1698. *de Villars* at the ſame time. It laſted three Hours; but was quite different from that of the Queen of *Poland*, and Abbot *Scarlati*. This Prelate declared, that all the *Poles* were inviolably attached to their new King; and that the high Idea they entertained of his Valour, and his affable Carriage, had won him the Hearts of all his Subjects. He added, that the King and the Republic had not any greater Enemies than the Court of *Vienna*, which uſed all its Endeavours to raiſe Diviſions in *Poland*, for fear leſt that Crown ſhould unite with *France*. In fine, he declared he had full Authority to commence an Alliance with the King; he even was of Opinion, that himſelf and Marquiſs *de Villars* might conclude it more eaſily at *Vienna*, as there was no *French* Miniſter in *Poland*, nor any *Poliſh* Miniſter in *France*.

The Biſhop of *Kiova*'s good Intentions, were followed by Advances made by the Prince of *Saxony-Zeits*, who flattered himſelf with the Hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, for his having contributed to convert to Popery, the *Poliſh* King, who otherwiſe could not have ſucceeded to the Crown. It was the Intereſt of this Prince to obtain the Protection of his Majeſty at *Rome*; and one would have concluded that, ſo ſucceeed the better, he had endeavoured to form

form an Alliance between *France* and *Poland*. 1698.

The Envoy of *Brandenburg* expreſſed himſelf alſo in ſuch a Manner, as ſeemed to indicate, that his Sovereign had the ſame Sentiments of this Union as *Poland*, and that he would willingly come into it.

In the mean time, the Peace with the Grand Signor advancing, News was brought, that he at laſt deſiſted from *Tranſilvania*, the only Article which could have delayed and perplexed the Negotiation, in caſe the *Turks* had been obſtinate: For when once the Affairs of the Emperour ſhould be ſettled, the Mediators were not urged to cauſe an entire Satisfaction to be made to *Poland*, *Muſcovy*, and *Venice*.

At the ſame time the Marriage of the King of the *Romans* was declared; and Preparations were made to ſolemnize it a Fortnight before the Expiration of the Carnaval, in order that the whole might paſs, as it did, in perpetual Feſtivity.

Count *Harach* arrived at Court, and was declared Lord High-Steward. As this Employment gave him the firſt Seat in Councils, Count *Kinſki* took Umbrage at it; thinking that no one ſhould have been raiſed over his Head; but a powerful Cabal, which the Empreſs ſecretly favoured,

1698. voured, endeavoured to alienate him in the Emperour's Mind. The Count repreſented very reſpectfully to this Prince, that as no one had been ſo far honoured with his Confidence as himſelf; and as he flattered himſelf that he had ſerved his Majeſty ſucceſsfully, he therefore had no reaſon to ſuſpect that he ſhould have received ſo great a Mortification. His Imperial Majeſty, who ſtood in need of *Kinſki*'s Service, and really eſteemed him, inſinuated, that Count *Harach* would not excerciſe the Employment of Lord High-Steward, any otherwiſe than the late Prince of *Dietrichtein* had done; and obſerved, that this Poſt had been promiſed him many Years before, he having always entertained a high Eſteem for Count *Harach*, who had been brought up with him. 'Tis certain, that the Emperour hinted to the latter, that he could not remove Count *Kinſki* from being Preſident of the Council called the *Deputation*, which had been eſtabliſhed many Years; and 'tis no leſs certain that Count *Harach*, who was a very good natured Man, would have acquieſced with the Emperour's Deſire, had not the Faction, and eſpecially his Wife who was a very proud Woman, diſſuaded him from it. Theſe repreſented to him, that 'twas his Buſineſs to be reſolute, and

to

to refuſe obſtinately the Poſt of High-Steward, in caſe it were not given him with all its Prerogatives. The Count followed this Advice, and would not receive the Compliments of the Embaſſadors, when they viſited him for that purpoſe. This Affair was held in ſuſpence near ſix Weeks; but at laſt, the Emperour yielded, and quite diſguſted Count *Kinſki*. He only ſoftned the Mortification by kind Expreſſions, and by aſſuring him, that no one ſhould enjoy ſo much of his Confidence as himſelf. 1698.

Kinſki uſed to write and tranſact in the Emperour's Preſence only. He ſent away and received the Couriers; and Count *de Marſilly* brought him the News of the Peace of *Hungary*; the moſt glorious and happy that the Houſe of *Auſtria* ever made with the *Turks*. That very inſtant Count *Kinſki* went and informed the Emperour of it, who, tranſported with Joy, replied to him in *Latin*, *eſt opus manuum tuarum*, (*'Tis thy Work.*) *Kinſki* anſwered immediately, *Nunc dimitte ſervum tuum, Domine*, (*Lord, let thy Servant now depart.*) This Anſwer, which the Emperour was far from expecting, ſurprized and puzzled him. The Emperour gave him freſh Aſſurances of his Friendſhip, and kept him in his Service; and indeed, the

1698. the Affairs which were then tranſacting were ſo important, that he very much wanted a Stateſman of Count *Kinſki*'s Experience and Abilities.

The King of *Spain*'s Weakneſs increaſed daily, and thoſe who were of Opinion that he might live a Year longer, agreed that he might be ſnatched away the next Moment.

We before obſerved, that *Kinſki* had dropped a Word to Marquiſs *de Villars*, which ſeemed to expreſs a deſire of Negotiating with him. Good Senſe required, that, before he entered upon it, he ſhould ſtay till the Peace was concluded with the *Turks*; becauſe this would give the Emperour freſh Strength, and enable him to maintain his Engagements.

Count *Stratman*, a Miniſter in great Credit with the Emperour, and who had been a Penſioner to his Majeſty when he ſerved the Elector *Palatine* of *Newburg*, had formed a Deſign to unite the Forces and Families of *France* and *Auſtria*. *Kinſki* approved of this Deſign; and was, in reality, exaſperated againſt *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, which were well known to endeavour to make a Treaty of Partition of all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* before his Death, without once conſulting the Emperour.

Kinſki

Kinſki therefore addreſſed himſelf one Day, in an Anti-Chamber of the Imperial Palace, to Marquiſs *de Villars*, and ſaid to him; *Are not the Emperour and the King powerful enough to act without Guardians? His Catholick Majeſty is in good Health; but ſhould Heaven take him from us, is it not poſſible for Potentates who are ſo powerful and ſo nearly related to live in good Intelligence? This*, ſaid *Villars*, *is the firſt Overture you have made me; I did not lay much ſtreſs on thoſe of ſome of your Miniſters, when he, whom we know to be the Chief, did not once ſpeak to me. Your Silence has prompted his Majeſty to command me to be ſilent alſo.* Kinſki anſwered; *the Emperour keeps all his Forces on foot. He has an hundred and thirty thouſand Men. His Generals and Soldiers are in great Reputation. Now, ſhould our Sovereigns enter into a ſtrict Union, what Powers in* Europe *would be able to annoy them? Let them therefore conſider their own Intereſt, and not divide the Monarchy of Spain, to ſerve that of* Great-Britain *and the* United Provinces. 1698.

A few Days after, a great piece of News arrived from *Madrid*, *viz.* that the King of *Spain* had drawn up a Will, ſigned by all the Councellours of State, in favour of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*. This made all the Powers intereſted in this

1698. Affair form new Projects; the chief Potentates, for their own private Intereſt, and the reſt, to ſecure, if poſſible, a general Peace, which would ſeem to be more ſolid in *Europe*, in caſe the Crown of *Spain* were to ſit on one Head, than if it were ſhar'd between the Emperour and his Majeſty.

The Prince of *Saxony* (Biſhop of *Raab*) and the Biſhop of *Kiovia*, doubtful of the Reſolution which the King and the Emperour might take with regard to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to engage the King in the Intereſt of their Sovereign, and for this purpoſe made the greateſt Advances. Marquiſs *de Villars*, by the King's Order, employed Expreſſions, which, without binding his Majeſty, only teſtified his Gratitude, and how much he approved of this Alliance. Some private Conferences held between Count *Kinſki* and Marquiſs *de Villars*, gave the *Sieur Hoop* a Suſpicion, that the Court of *Vienna* [illegible] laſt treat directly with the King, which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* conſidered as very diſadvantageous to their Intereſt. Mr. *Hoop* lived in very great Familiarity with Marquiſs *de Villars*; but the former being a Miniſter of the maritime Powers, the ſtay of the latter at *Vienna* was judged by

by the *Sieur Hoop* as dangerous to the In- 1698.
tereſt of his Maſters; and 'tis very pro-
bable that he had a great Hand in an Af-
fair, which not only plunged Marquiſs *de*
Villars in very great Difficulties, but had
afterwards like to have broke off all Cor-
reſpondence between the Courts of *Spain*
and *Vienna*. As the concluding of this
Affair was attended with very great Dif-
ficulties, it will not be improper to be
a little particular in the Cauſes of it.

A Serenade followed by a Ball, were 1699.
given at Court. The only Apartment
in all the Emperour's Palace, fit for this
Divertiſement, and in which 'tis uſually
given, is a very large, lofty Room, in
the Apartment of the Empreſs-Dowager;
and part of this Apartment belongs to the
Archduke.

'Tis the Cuſtom in theſe Grand Balls
at *Vienna*, for none to be preſent at them
except thoſe for whom they are immedi-
ately made. Nevertheleſs, to oblige the
Embaſſadors and foreign Miniſters with a
ſight of this, ſeven or eight Galleries had
been made which were ſeparated from the
Ball-Room by a kind of Rail; and oppo-
ſite to it, a ſort of Throne was raiſed,
for the Emperour and the Empreſs. In the
Galleries were ſeated the Pope's Nuncio,
the Embaſſador of *Spain*, that of *Venice*,

1699. who had not yet ſeen the Archduke; that of *Savoy*, and ſeveral other nameleſs Foreigners. Marquiſs *de Villars* went to it in Company with the *Sieur Hoop*. A Moment after the Ball was begun, Marquiſs *de Villars* went up to the Biſhop of *Raab*, who was ſupping upon ſome Viands which came from the Emperour's Table, in one of theſe little Galleries, which ſhowed that the Place was not very retired. The Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, Governour to the Archduke, no ſooner ſaw Marquiſs *de Villars*, but he came up to him. Mr. *Hoop* ſtood juſt between the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* and Marquiſs *de Villars*, when this Prince ſaid, with an Air of Severity, to the latter, *That it was very extraordinary, as he had not yet ſeen the Archduke, that he ſhould come there, for which reaſon he deſired him to withdraw.* Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered, *that he had great reaſon to believe himſelf in the Emperour's Palace, and in a Place where little Ceremony was made, ſince private Suppers were given in it; that beſides, ſeveral of thoſe who were admitted to ſee the Ball, had not received Audience of the Archduke; not even Mr.* Hoop, *whom the Prince might have ſpoke to*, (he ſtanding, as was before obſerved, between the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* and Marquiſs *de Villars*.) The latter, after

after receiving his Anſwer, left the Gal- 1699.
lery, but Mr. *Hoop* ſtaid.

This Incident put the whole Court in Emotion, and ſurprized all who heard of it. Firſt, no one could imagine, that the Ball-Room could be called the Archduke's Apartment, at the time that the Emperour was there. Secondly, it ſeemed ſtrange, that Prince *de Lichtenſtein* did not direct himſelf to Mr. *Hoop*, who alſo had not ſeen the Archduke, any more than the Envoys of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who arrived at *Vienna* before Marquiſs *de Villars*. The latter made very ſerious Complaints upon this Account to Count *de Kaunits*, who only promiſed to inform the Emperour of it.

In the mean time, Marquiſs *de Villars* avoided, in the Emperour's Anti-chambers, thoſe Diſcourſes in which the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, (who cenſured more publickly than any other, the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*'s Imprudence) would have engaged him, as well as the reſt of the foreign Miniſters. An inſtant after, a Report was ſpread, that the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* was very much vexed at what he had done: and at his having followed imprudently the ill Advice which had been given him.

1699. The next Day, Marquiſs *de Villars* met, in the Emperour's Anti-chamber, Count *Kinſki*, who ſaid to him, *I am very ſorry for what happened lately, but it ſhan't prevent our Correſpondence, on the Affair you know.* And indeed, a great Advantage might be gained from it; and as this Diſpute gave occaſion to ſeveral Conferences with the Prime-Miniſter, and to the ſending of ſeveral Couriers, it was of great uſe to conceal a Negotiation, which the King and the Emperour were deſirous of keeping ſecret, becauſe 'twas very much the Intereſt of the maritime Powers to perplex it.

For this reaſon Marquiſs *de Villars* did not once mention the Treatment he had met with from Prince *Lichtenſtein*. After having complained to Count *Kaunits*, as he was obliged to do, he waited the King's Orders, to whom he had diſpatched a Courier; behaving in ſuch a manner, that 'twas in his Sovereign's Power to take more or leſs Umbrage at what happened, as might ſuit his Intereſt.

At this time, a piece of News, of the greateſt Importance to all *Europe*, and eſpecially to the Courts of *France* and *Vienna*, was brought to the latter Court; *viz.* the Death of the Electoral Prince, who was conſidered as Heir to the Monarchy

narchy of *Spain*. Thus, there were none 1699.
but two Competitors that had a right to this Crown, both of whom were animated by all the Circumſtances which are moſt apt to fire the Soul of two great Princes with Glory and Ambition.

On this News, Count *Kinſki* ſpoke certain Words to Marquiſs *de Villars*, from which one might conclude, that he was perſuaded, it would not have occaſioned ſo bloody a War, as broke out a little after.

Count *Harach* was at laſt nominated Lord High-Steward, the Ceremony of which is performed in the Emperour's Anti-chamber, by a Harangue ſpoke by the Lord Chamberlain, which the Lord High-Steward afterwards anſwers.

Altho' Count *Harach* had the greateſt ſhare in the Emperour's Friendſhip, not to mention his being ſupported by a powerful Cabal, *Kinſki* was in reality Prime-Miniſter, at the Head of the little Council called the *Deputation*; and he only made the Report of what his Imperial Majeſty had declared there. It was even ſaid, that this Council ſhould ſtill exiſt, that Count *Harach* would not aſſiſt at it; that he ſhould preſide over all the reſt of the Councils, which were very inconſiderable in compariſon of this; and that, moreover, he was to enjoy all the Honours

1699. and Prerogatives of the Lord High-Steward.

This Expedient, the only one his Imperial Majeſty could hit upon, could not obliterate from his Mind, the dark Impreſſions which the refuſal of the Poſt of Lord High-Steward had formed in it. He ſwallowed the Pill, tho' ſo poorly gilded, but did not digeſt it; for he fell ſick, and died in a few Days. During his Sickneſs, his Imperial Majeſty ſent daily, ſome Perſon of Diſtinction to enquire the State of his Health; and often ſent Father *Menegati* the Jeſuit (his Confeſſor) for that purpoſe. *Kinſki* ſaid to him; *The Emperour does too much Honour to ſuch a Worm as I am; and yet he himſelf, notwithſtanding his Imperial Dignity, is as much a Worm as I am.* 'Tis certain that Count *Kinſki* died of grief, a dangerous Malady, with which Prime Miniſters are but too often attacked. We may relate, on this occaſion, a Story which Count *Harach* told Marquiſs *de Villars*, concerning another chief Miniſter, whom the Emperour alſo killed, but in a ſhorter time.

At the time that *Vienna* was upon the point of being taken by the *Turks*, the Imperial Army, marched to its Succour, under the Command of the King of *Poland*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſeveral conſiderable

conſiderable Electors and Princes of the Empire; his Imperial Majeſty was alſo deſirous of marching on this occaſion; but the Meakneſs which was natural to that Prince, prompted him to debate that Affair firſt with his Miniſters. Count *de Zintzendorff*, one of thoſe who had the greateſt Credit with his Imperial Majeſty, oppoſed, with ſome other Miniſters, this Deſign of his Sovereign, poſſibly in the view of making his Court to him. The Emperour had more Reſolution than he diſcovered in the Council, of which he gave a proof on ſeveral Occaſions. In that in queſtion, he abandonned himſelf to the indolent Counſels which his Miniſters gave him; and ſo only followed his Army, in a Barge on the *Danube*. He was perſuaded, that in caſe the Imperial Arms ſhould be victorious, he himſelf would be the firſt who ſhould enter his Capital. 1699.

He ſailed the whole Night, and the Day after the Battle, arrived, by ſix in the Morning, at the Gates of *Vienna*. As he was coming out of the Barge, he heard the Salvoes of Artillery, and of the ſmall Arms from the Ramparts.

The King of *Poland* was gone by Day-break, to the Cathedral, in order to have *Te Deum* Sung, an Honour to which the

1699. Emperour himſelf aſpired. His Imperial Majeſty enquiring the reaſon of theſe Savoes, was anſwered, *The King of* Poland *has cauſed* Te Deum *to be Sung*. Immediately the Emperour, turning about to Count *Zintzendorff* who was in the Barge, ſaid to him with an angry Tone; *The Weakneſs of the Advice in which you participated, has occaſioned the Diſgrace I now ſuffer*. Count *Harach* related, that Count *Zintzendorff* was ſeized with a ſudden trembling at theſe Words, and he was ſo ſtrongly affected, that he died the next Day. We thought it might not be improper to relate this little piece of Hiſtory, which Count *Harach* told Marquiſs *de Villars*.

The Death of Count *Kinſki*, the only Miniſter who had hinted to the Marquiſs the Project of a Union between the Houſes of *France* and *Auſtria*, ſuſpended this important Negotiation for ſome time; but it was afterwards reſumed by the Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits*.

The Queen of the *Romans* made her Entry the 24th of *February* 1699. The Nobility and People diſplayed chiefly their Magnificence on this occaſion. With regard to the Emperour, there was nothing more than ordinary, except that a new Coach was made for the Queen, which

which was the only one that was new. The Ladies of her Bed-Chamber rode in three very old ones. The Counteſs of *Caraffa*, firſt Lady of her Bed-Chamber, was only in the Coach with her Majeſty; and Princeſſes did not ſupport the Train in this Ceremony, the firſt Lady of the Bed-Chamber not allowing them the Precedency. Nor did the Princeſs appear at the Nuptials, they not having any rank on this occaſion. The Princes of *Savoy*, of *Commercy*, and of *Vaudemont*, had notice ſent the Night before, on which occaſion they aſked, if it was by the Emperour's Order; and were told by the chief Harbinger, whoſe Duty it is to give notice of all Ceremonies and Feſtivals, that he had been commanded to give them notice, in common with other Gentlemen. They went and had this Affair explained, when they were diſpenſed from aſſiſting at the Ceremony. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaw the Train paſs along, which he thought very far from Magnificent. The Triumphal Arches were noble, the Fireworks very fine, but the reſt was very indifferent. The Cardinals and Embaſſadors ſupped with the Emperour. 1699.

The Night before the Queen's Entry, the King of the *Romans* had rode Poſt two Leagues, to a Town where the Prin-

1699. ceſs then was. This Journey is enacted by the Imperial Laws. The King set out from *Vienna* on Horſeback, preceeded by forty Poſtillions, all blowing their Horns, with the Poſt-Maſter-General at their Head. After the King, followed the great Officers, and ſuch Gentlemen as he was pleaſed to Honour on this occaſion with attending him. All the Citizens were in their Balconies, or at their Windows, which were adorned with Tapeſtry in expectation of the return of the King, who came back thro' the Street in which his Miſtreſs lived, tho' far the longeſt way. As the Train paſſed before her Houſe, the Poſtillions blew their Horns and ſmacked their Whips, much louder than before; the King of the *Romans* ſmacking his louder than any other Perſon. Marquiſs *de Villars* was then in the ſame Houſe with Mademoiſelle *de Thaun*, who ſeemed highly delighted with the King's Gallantry; but it did not pleaſe the Empreſs.

To return to State-Affairs; the Prince of *Saxony-Zeits*, (Biſhop of *Raab*,) and the Biſhop of *Kiovia*, Envoy of *Poland*, were daily very urgent with Marquiſs *de Villars*, to ſettle a perfect Intelligence between his *Gallic* Majeſty, and the King of *Poland* their Sovereign. His Majeſty ſent a favourable Anſwer to their Entreaties; but the

the ill Treatment the *French* Embaſſador, and ſome of our Ships, had met with from the City of *Dantzick*, made him require Satisfaction to be made before he ſhould enter into any Treaty, or ſend any Miniſter in his Name. The Difficulties which aroſe upon this account laſted ſome Months. 1699.

But now the Courier which Marquiſs *de Villars* had ſent to his Majeſty, to acquaint him with the Affair of Prince *de Lichtenſtein*, returned to *Vienna*. His Majeſty conſidered the Behaviour of this Prince as an Inſult, and ſent Marquiſs *de Villars* Orders in what manner to act. He was commanded, not to deſire an Audience of the Emperour to complain of what had paſſed, but to ſpeak once only to Count *Kinſki*, and to tell him, that he was ordered not to ſollicit for ſatisfaction; his Majeſty being perſuaded it would have been made that Moment; and that it would derogate from his Dignity, to wait till ſuch time as it ſhould be made on Remonſtrances, as the Inſult was given in the Emperour's Preſence, and at a time that his Prime Miniſter was making conſiderable Overtures, in order to unite the two Houſes: In fine, that his Powers were ſuſpended, till ſuch time as full Satisfaction ſhould be made; and, that he

was

1699. was commanded to go no more to the Imperial Palace, nor to the Houſes of any of his Miniſters.

The Satisfaction required was, that the Emperour ſhould order Prince *de Lichtenſtein* to wait upon Marquiſs *de Villars*, to aſſure him that he was extremely ſorry for what had happened, and for his having been wanting in the Reſpect due to his Character.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was likewiſe ordered to ſpeak to Count *Kinſki*, with regard to the Overtures he had made him, and to inform him of the juſt Reaſons the King had, not to believe that the Emperour's Intentions were ſo ſincere, as his Prime Miniſter aſſured; that his Majeſty had heard of all the Steps which the Court of *Vienna* had taken, immediately after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, in order to revive a League againſt *France*, and to raiſe a Suſpicion in the Proteſtant Powers; that theſe Steps indeed might be denied, but that 'twas different with regard to thoſe Things which happened under the Emperour's Eye; for inſtance, the Speech of the Chancellor of *Auſtria*, who demanded freſh Supplies of the States, and by that means prepared them for the carrying on a new War with *France*. Marquiſs *de Villars* was to end with the Affair

of

of the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, and ſhow 1699.
Count *Kinſki*, that his Majeſty was of Opinion, the Imperialiſts did not prepare ſo much for a ſincere Union, as an open Rupture.

Count *Kinſki* was dead when theſe Orders came to *Vienna*. This Miniſter had aſſured the Marquiſs, that the late unlucky Affair ſhould not interrupt the Negotiation. He employed all the Arguments poſſible, to perſuade *Villars*, that he was very ſorry for what had happened; but that it ſhould not put a ſtop to the Affairs they might concert together.

'Tis certain that the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, nurtur'd in that antient Jealouſy which had fomented Wars, almoſt perpetually, ever ſince *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. could not ſincerely deſire a Reconciliation, in the preſent Juncture, *viz.* the hourly-expected Death of the King of *Spain*. Each of them had ſeverally endeavoured to procure Alliances ever ſince the Peace of *Ryſwick*; and *Great-Britain* and the States-General, had been firſt addreſſed on this occaſion. 'Twas ſo much the Intereſt of theſe Powers, never to ſuffer the re-union of the two Houſes, that they courted both to enter into an Alliance with them. The Imperialiſts, who, a little before had ſuſtained a long War in concert,

1699. concert, and united with them, had not obtained, at the Concluſion of the Peace, the Conditions they deſired. They therefore continued the War a Year longer, and for this Reaſon, becauſe theſe two Powers had concluded a ſeparate Peace, which Circumſtance had prompted Count *Kinſki* to endeavour at a Union of the Houſes of *France* and *Auſtria*; a Project that had been already formed by Count *Stratman*, and which, had it ſucceeded, would have been equally glorious and advantageous to thoſe two illuſtrious Houſes. But both had ſuch ſtrong Reaſons to conceal their Deſign; and Mr. *Hoop*, Envoy of *Great-Britain* and the States-General, endeavoured ſo aſſiduouſly to penetrate it, that 'twas abſolutely neceſſary for them to conceal even the moſt inconſiderable Steps. This alſo ſuſpended ſo long the compoſing of the Affair, which kept Marquiſs *de Villars* from the Emperour's Palace.

The King, to ſhow *Great-Britain* and the States, that he had little regard for the Emperour, demanded the higheſt Satisfaction. We muſt give the Reaſon why the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* ſcrupled to make any.

He was Governour, as was obſerved, to the Archduke, which Employment is called in the Court of *Vienna*, as at that of *Madrid*,

dred, *Hayo*. Now the *Hayo* are perpetually with the Princes under their Care; never viſit, nor leave the Palace but in Company with their Royal Pupil. The King of *France* required, that the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* ſhould come to Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Houſe; and this Prince declared publickly, that he would loſe his Head, ſooner than it ſhould be ſaid, that a Prince of *Lichtenſteim*, was the firſt *Hayo*, who had infringed the Laws of the Palace. And indeed, the Emperour made this offer to Marquiſs *de Villars*, viz. that Count *Kaunits*, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, and Miniſter for foreign Affairs, ſhould wait upon him, in the Emperour's Name, and declare the Uneaſineſs which the late Tranſaction had given his Imperial Majeſty. Marquiſs *de Villars* thought this a more ample Satisfaction than the former; but his orders were deciſive, and 'twas not in his Power to change them. Mr. *Hoop* offered to promote the Reconciliation, but with ſo much Coldneſs, as plainly ſhowed he did not wiſh Succeſs to the Negotiation. 1699.

The Pope's Nuncio and all the reſt of the Embaſſadors were deſirous of employing their good Offices; but 'twas to no purpoſe, for Marquiſs *de Villars* was fixed to one

1699. one Point, and was obliged to get over it without the leaſt Modification.

While theſe Things were doing, the Court of *Vienna* was very much perplexed, and particularly ſtudious, ſo to order Matters, that the maritime Powers might not have the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Emperour was deſirous of uniting with *France*. For theſe various Reaſons, the Satisfaction required was delayed.

In the mean time, as has been already ſaid, the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* died at *Bruſſels* the 6th of *February*. His Death quite changed all the Meaſures which had been taken by the ſeveral Powers, who were for preventing a War; or rather, the whole Crown of *Spain* from being fixed upon one or two Heads. For *Great-Britain* and *Holland* were more afraid of having the *Spaniſh* Dominions divided between the *French* King and the Emperour, than ſubject to the latter only; which could never happen, in caſe thoſe two Powers ſhould join with his *Gallic* Majeſty to prevent it.

The Count *de Soiſſons* arrived at *Vienna* about this time, unexpected by every one, and even by the Prince of *Savoy* his Brother, at whoſe Houſe Marquiſs *de Villars* was, when News was brought, that Count

Count *de Soiſſons* was coming to him on foot. 1699.

About the ſame time, Marquiſs *de Villars* received Orders from the King, to leave *Vienna* in a Fortnight, in caſe the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* did not, by that time, make full Satisfaction, and agreeable in all Reſpects to the King's Demands. The Marquiſs declared his Orders, in the very Words he had received them, to Count *Harach*; Count *Kaunitz* having ſet out, three Days before, upon a Journey which would take up ſome Weeks.

Upon this Declaration of Marquiſs *de Villars*, a Conference was held the next Day in the Emperour's Preſence, to which not only all the private Miniſters were ſummoned, but alſo the greateſt Part of the great Officers. The Opinions were various; the moſt judicious declared immediately, that ample Satisfaction ought to be made his Majeſty; but the Majority, conſidering the Law abovementioned relating to the *Hayo* invariable, would ſooner have diſpenſed with their religious Principles, than depart a Tittle from the Law abovementioned.

While theſe Things were tranſacting, all the foreign Miniſters were Day and Night at Marquiſs *de Villars*; and never were

1699. were ſo many Arrifices and ſpecious Reaſons employed to ſeduce any Man.

In a Word, they put off every thing till the laſt Moment, when Marquiſs *de Villars*, juſt ready to put his Orders in Execution, ſent for Poſt-Horſes, and had his Berlin brought out.

About three in the Afternnon, the Embaſſador of *Savoy* came again, and ſaid, he had loſt all Hopes; upon which the Marquiſs, finding no change, cauſed his Berlin, and his Domeſticks to leave *Vienna*. When things were carried to this Extremity, the Embaſſador abovementioned returning, begged him to ſtay one Moment longer; and, (tho' he had no hopes) he yet beſought him to wait till he was come back from the Imperial Palace. At laſt, the Embaſſador came back, and gave him his Word and Honour that every thing he had deſired ſhould be complied with immediately. Upon this, his Berlin and all his Domeſticks were ſent for back; a great Croud was got before the Door, and the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* waited whilſt the Embaſſador abovenamed was, at laſt, deſiring only, that the Prince might be excuſed from coming into the Room, in which was his Majeſty's Picture. But theſe petty Difficulties ſerved only to heighten the Splendor

dor of the Concluſion. Marquiſs *de Villars* Gentlemen and his chief Domeſticks were in the Apartment with him. The Pages and Footmen lighted their Flambeaux, the inſtant the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* went away, after having made an Apology, for his Behaviour, to Marquiſs *de Villars*. Thus the Satisfaction which his Majeſty had demanded was given, and made public that Moment. 1699.

As this Affair ſeemed at firſt, of very great Importance at *Vienna*; and that the King had required a Submiſſion which interfered with the Imperial Laws, the Concluſion did Honour to Marquiſs *de Villars*.

The Inſtant the Diſpute was ended, Count *Kaunits* reſumed with Marquiſs *de Villars* the Overtures which Count *Kinſki* had made. The latter, a little before he died, had ſpoke to Count *Kaunits*; and ſeemed troubled, that the Imprudence of Prince *de Lichtenſtein*, had ſuſpended Negotiations of ſo much Importance as thoſe which were then upon the Carpet.

Marquiſs *de Villars* received Letters from his Majeſty, who appeared highly ſatisfied at the Conduct he had obſerved, in ſo very delicate an Affair. At the ſame time he was commanded to tell Count *Kaunits*, that the King was deſirous of engaging

1699. gaging in ſuch Meaſures with the Emperour, as might prevent a War in caſe of the King of *Spain*'s Death; and that he ſhould be very glad to ſee all the Plans which the Imperial Miniſters ſhould draw up on this occaſion; ordering Marquiſs *de Villars* to ſend them to him, with all imaginable Diſpatch, by a Courier.

As 'twas three Months ſince the Marquiſs had been at the Imperial Court, he could not ſtay the Compliments, in his Majeſty's Name, to the Emperour, and to the King and Queen of the *Romans* on their Marriage: But after the Satisfaction above related was made, he went to *Luxemburg*. He there met with a very gracious Reception from the Emperour, and was admitted to all the Audiences that Day. The Emperour, who was ſincerely deſirous of a re-union with his Majeſty, expreſſed himſelf to that purpoſe, and in a manner very different from the ſerious Air which is generally obſerved at Audiences.

The King then wrote to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he had arreſted Count *de Boſelli*, upon receiving Advice, that he intended to take away the Life of *William* King of *Great-Britain*. This *Boſelli*, who certainly was a moſt wicked Wretch, and was afterwards executed for numberleſs Crimes,

Crimes, might juſtly be thought guilty of the greateſt; and fled from the *Baſtille*. 1699.

But now the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* endeavoured to ſoften the Satisfaction he had made. 'Twas even pretended, that the Embaſſador of *Savoy*, in a Letter to his Sovereign, did not give a juſt Account of what had paſſed. Marquiſs *de Villars* hearing of it, went to that Embaſſador, requiring a Declaration ſigned by him, and agreeable to the Relation he had tranſmitted to his Majeſty.

Hitherto the Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* had, in outward Appearance, deſired ſincerely, to treat with Marquiſs *de Villars* concerning the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion. But 'tis very probable that, amuſed by Mr. *Hoop*, who made them very ſpecious Promiſes in the Name of his two Sovereigns, they would have been pleaſed had his Majeſty been leſs reſerved.

At laſt, Count *Kaunits* ſpoke, and ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*: *You muſt have been ſurprized, at my not having once ſpoke to you theſe twelve Days, about our grand Affair. I'll tell you what paſſed the firſt time I diſcourſed on this ſubject with his Imperial Majeſty. He ſeemed to me, by the Joy I ſaw in his Eyes, and by his Diſcourſe, extremely deſirous of coming to a good Underſtanding with the King; and ſaid to me, reflect*

1699. *flect upon it, and tell me your Thoughts as ſoon as you can. The ſecond time I ſpoke to his Imperial Majeſty about it, he ſaid; I have told Count* Harach *my Thoughts on this Affair, ſo would have you confer upon it. This we are now doing; and the Emperour declared to us, that we only ſhould be his Confidents on this occaſion.* The Count added; *this I have to inform you as a Stateſman; but to ſpeak as Count* de Kaunits, *I conjure you not to be uneaſy at Delays, for I dare not preſume to hope, that they will ever be ended.* After this, he not only deſired that every thing might be kept ſecret, but alſo that they ſhould take the moſt inconſiderable Steps with the utmoſt Circumſpection, becauſe they would be watched, even by the Emperour's Miniſters.

The King then wrote to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he had at laſt agreed with *Great-Britain*, upon a Treaty of Partition with regard to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion; that the States-General were to join in it, and that Mr. *Hoop* was to acquaint the Emperour therewith. At the ſame time, his Majeſty ſent him the Conditions of it, but with orders not to meddle in the Affair, but leave the whole to Mr. *Hoop*, who afterwards found the Emperour very much diſſatisfied

diſſatisfied with the Partition propoſed to him. 1699.

The Court of *Madrid* was at that time in a very great ferment; and their Embaſſador at *Vienna*, who concealed nothing from *Villars*, declared often to him, that the *Spaniards* were now not ſo deſirous of any thing, as to be governed by a Grandſon of *France*; that they perhaps would have wiſhed rather for the Archduke, but that as they were ſenſible the Emperour was not able to ſupport them, the report of a Partition of their Empire, was an inexpreſſible Grief to the whole Kingdom.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered, in general, to liſten to every thing without making any Anſwer; and to ſpeak with the view only of making others open themſelves. The King commanded him, (upon the Diſcourſes of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador) to aſk him, who thoſe *Spaniards* were, that, to avoid a Partition of their Monarchy, would have Reſolution enough to exert themſelves in order to prevent it. And indeed, to affirm that the Nation would chuſe to be governed by a Grandſon of *France*, preferable to any other Prince, was ſpeaking random Words, which conveyed no ſolid meaning. Conſequently, before the *French* Court could entertain any thoughts of it,

1699. 'twould be proper to get a more exact Account of the Names and Forces of thoſe who were in the *French* Intereſt. This was what *Villars* repreſented alſo to the Embaſſador, who, a little after, ſpoke publickly enough of the Partition, and in a manner conformable to his former Expreſſions. He aſſerted, that the King of *Spain* would never conſent to it; and that his Sovereign would acquaint all the Powers of *Europe*, with the unworthy Treatment he had met with from *Great-Britain*, and the *United-Provinces*.

The Embaſſador in queſtion, deſired Audience of the Emperour, to complain, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, with regard to the Negotiation of *Loo*, at which Place, *Great-Britain* and the States were making the Treaty of Partition. The Emperour anſwered, that he had no concern with the Affair of *Loo*; that he proteſted to the Truth of this; and would never conſent to the diſſevering of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

The Embaſſador did not conceal from Marquiſs *de Villars*, the ſeveral things that paſſed between the Emperour and him, nor even the Advices he received from *Spain*. Speaking to him of the various Abilities of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, he ſaid, that Count *Aguilar* was bolder than the reſt,

reſt, but had not ſo much Credit; that, 1699.
with regard to himſelf, he was quite tired with writing to Miniſters who were equally needleſs and impotent; that the King's Authority now appeared only, in the ſending from Time to Time, Letters, to diſpoſſeſs one Perſon or other of his Employment, frequently without Reaſon, and always without the Hopes that better Miniſters would riſe up; ſo that at laſt, he was going to reſign his Employment. During the Heat of his Reſentment, he vigorouſly attacked Mr. *Hoop*, concerning the Diviſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which he ſaid was a bold, unparalleled Enterprize.

The Emperour proteſted, that he had no Engagements with any of thoſe Powers; neverthĕleſs, after the ſeveral Overtures which had been made by Counts *Harach*, *Kinſki* and *Kaunits*, nothing was afterwards ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*; whence it was believed, either that the Court of *Vienna* expected more favourable Treatment from the Powers who had treated about the Partition, or that the King approved of what was tranſacting in *Holland*.

The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, urged by the continuance of a Negotiation which he could not carry on any longer, ſaid to

1699. Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he had told his Sovereign in Writing, that in caſe he were indifferent with regard to the diſmembring of his Monarchy, 'twould be more glorious for him to divide it, in a proper manner, between the Emperour and the *French* King; but that if he were deſirous of having it kept entire, the only Expedient would be, to declare one of his *Gallic* Majeſty's Grandſons his univerſal Heir, with a Prohibition to diſmember any Part of his Dominions.

This Embaſſador ſaid further to Marquiſs *de Villars*, "Act cautiouſly; "gain the favour (but ſilently,) of the "Court of *Spain*. It takes ſuch very "wrong Steps, like that of *Vienna*, that "all things will conſpire to ſet the Crown "of the entire Monarchy upon the Head "of one of your Princes, without there "being the leaſt occaſion for you to take "one ſingle Step."

It may not be improper to relate an Incident, to ſhow how very jealous this Embaſſador was of his Country's Honour. One Day, as Mr. *Hoop* was cenſuring the Conduct of the Marquiſs *de Canales*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at *London*, for having preſented a Memorial to the Regency in *England*, to complain of the Reports which were ſpread with regard to the Partition;

tition; and declaring, that 'twas ſurpriz- 1699.
ing Men ſhould preſume to give Memo-
rials to Subjects with regard to the Con-
duct of their King, the Embaſſador re-
plied, "Subjects who dethrone their
"King, and elect another; who even,
"by their pretended Laws, put a third
"to Death; and who have, very lately,
"carried on a War againſt the Will of
"their Monarch, who, in the Affair of
"*Darien*, is reduced to this only Anſwer,
"that he cannot oppoſe the Ordinances
"of a *Scotch* Parliament; ſuch Subjects
"are no ways looked upon as thoſe of
"his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty." Theſe
Words of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, (ſo
grating to an *Engliſh* Miniſter,) ſhocked
Mr. *Hoop* very much, inſomuch that he
flew into a great Paſſion, which, how-
ever, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador anſwered no
otherwiſe than by a contemptuous Smile.

In the mean time, poſitive Advice was
brought, that the Emperour had refuſed
the Propoſals with regard to the Partition,
as made by *Great-Britain* and the *United
Provinces*; but that Prince being perſuad-
ed, that his Majeſty acted in concert with
thoſe two Powers, he therefore turned his
Views towards *Madrid*. The King of
Spain, and the Queen were entirely for
the Emperour; but ſeveral of the Mini-

1699. ſters of that Court, being perſuaded that the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, could not withſtand the United Forces of *France*, *England*, *Holland*, and the many other Alliances which had been formed in the North; were inclined to reſign themſelves up entirely to his *Gallic* Majeſty, in order that one of his Grandſons might enjoy the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy: This being the only way to defeat the Treaty of Partition, which they conſidered as the greateſt Evil that could befall them.

The Count of *Soiſſons* being arrived at *Vienna*, and not knowing what to do, came to Marquiſs *de Villars*, to whom he related all his Misfortunes, and eſpecially his Sorrow for having diſpleaſed the King. He declared, that the only Favour he deſired, was, to expiate his Faults; and for this purpoſe, he beſought his Majeſty to let him ſurrender himſelf in any Priſon in *France* he might pleaſe to appoint, and there remain during his Majeſty's Pleaſure. The King bid him continue to ſerve ſuch Princes as he might think proper, but not preſume to ſet his Foot in *France*.

The unexpected War which broke out between the King of *Poland* and *Sweden*, ſurprized moſt of the Powers of *Europe*. The former Prince invaded *Livonia*. All *Poland* ſeemed to conſpire to that Enterprize;

prize; and 'twas certain, that the Emperor could not believe that the aggrandizing of ſuch Neighbours ſuited his Intereſt. The War opened very happily for General *Flemming*, who ſurprized a ſtrong Fort, oppoſite to *Riga*, the taking of which very much facilitated that of *Riga* itſelf, an important City on which all *Livonia* depends, one of the richeſt Provinces in the *Swediſh* Dominions. 1699.

The Court of *Vienna* did not concern itſelf in this War; but *Denmark*, entering into an Alliance with *Poland*, prepared to attack *Sweden*; and this was the beginning of a War which laſted till 1719.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was commanded to declare, that the King had given Orders for ſurrendring up *Briſſac* to the Emperour, the firſt of *April* 1700. This Court had long been very patient with regard to the Reſtitution of that Town; being ſenſible, that the only Motive of this Delay, was, that it might be done conformable to the Peace of *Ryſwick*.

The Audience which Marquiſs *de Villars* could not yet receive of the Archduke, occaſioned by a numberleſs Multitude of Difficulties, which were raiſed by moſt of the Miniſters of *Europe*, was at

1699. laſt regulated, agreeable to the Intentions of his Majeſty.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was introduced to that Prince, who uncovered himſelf every time the Marquiſs repeated his Majeſty's Name, or that the Prince himſelf named him. This Affair being ended, Count *Harach* ſpoke to Marquiſs *de Villars* on the ſame ſubject, which had been already debated by Counts *Kinſki* and *Kaunitz*. He declared, that a true, ſincere Union ought to be eſtabliſhed between the King and the Emperour; and that they ſhould deſpiſe the Views of thoſe Powers, who upon pretence of ſettling the Peace of *Europe*, would ruin it by continual Wars. As Marquiſs *de Villars* was not ordered to make any Advances, his Silence put an End to that Miniſter's Diſcourſe, who only ſaid theſe Words, *Sir, you know more than you are willing to reveal; and 'twould be Time loſt to diſcourſe upon a Subject, which nevertheleſs deſerves to be weighed a little more ſeriouſly by his Gallic Majeſty.*

Marquiſs *de Villars* tranſmitted an exact Account of this Converſation, and took the Liberty to repreſent to the King, by ſtrong and very convincing Reaſons, that 'twould be ſafeſt, moſt advantageous, and moſt ſuitable to the two Heads of the moſt formidable Families in *Europe* to unite together;

gether; that the Partition would not eſta- 1699.
bliſh a Peace; that the Emperour, by hazarding every thing to prevent it, the beginning of the Rupture might not be favourable to him; but that the Conſequences of it would be long and dangerous, whereas, was a Harmony to ſubſiſt between the King and his Imperial Majeſty, the Forces they had actually on foot, would put them in a Condition, to ſupport the moſt glorious Partition, and moſt advantageous to both.

Count *Harach*, in another Converſation, employed all the Arguments he could think of, to prove to the Marquiſs, that *Great-Britain* and *Holland* were intent upon nothing but their own Intereſt; that the Partition propoſed ſuited only thoſe Powers; and that the only glorious and uſeful one, was that which ſhould unite for ever, and without the leaſt ſhadow of Diffidence, the two moſt powerful Princes of *Europe*. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſeems to have been perfectly perſuaded of this Truth; ſince he was for ever inculcating it to his Sovereign; often ſacrificing Court-Policy to his Zeal. He even was frequently obliged to beſeech his Majeſty to pardon him, in caſe he ſometimes was too free in his Expreſſions. But the orders he received were preciſe; and

1699. ſuch, that he could not hint to any of the Emperour's Miniſters, the leaſt hope that thoſe Meaſures could be changed, which he ſuſpected were already taken between the King, *Great-Britain* and the *United Provinces*.

As it nevertheleſs happens that, in Affairs of the greateſt Importance, thoſe Powers who imagine they have ſettled every Thing, do nevertheleſs fear or apprehend ſome Revolution; Marquiſs *de Villars* fancied he perceived by the Diſcourſes of the Miniſters, that they flattered themſelves with the Hopes that ſome Alteration would be made in the Treaty of Partition, which was looked upon as fixed, tho' not made public; and the King, on the other Side, gave Marquiſs *de Villars* to underſtand, that he would ſend him Orders immediately.

The War which was begun by the King of *Poland*, diſſatisfied all the Powers that were deſirous of Peace: But thoſe very Powers, who, at another Time would ſoon have ſilenced the Aggreſſor, were employed about Matters of greater Conſequence to them; and the Uncertainty of the Motions which the expected Death of the King of *Spain* would produce, left *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Pruſſia* and the *Czar*, at full Liberty to unite together, to ruin *Sweden*;

Sweden; or at leaſt to invade the Rights 1699
of that Crown, which was very much ex-
poſed to its greedy Neighbours.

The League which was formed be-
tween ſo many Powers, ſoon gave the in-
trepid Valour of the *Swediſh* Monarch, an
Opportunity to acquire a Glory, which
would have ſurpaſſed that of the greateſt
Conquerors, had the contempt of Dan-
gers, that was natural to him, and which
was ſo conſpicuous in that young Hero
as to be unparallelled, been accom-
panied with this Reflection, ſo neceſſary
for all great Men, and eſpecially for
Kings, *viz.* that a proper Diſtinction ought
to be made between ſuch Dangers as ſuit
crown'd Heads, and thoſe which are be-
neath, and conſequently ought to be de-
ſpiſed, by them.

This War began therefore in the North,
to the Diſſatisfaction of almoſt all *Europe*;
a Diſſatisfaction which however diſplayed
itſelf but by faint Offices. And that which
was thought to be no more than a Fire
which might eaſily be extinguiſhed, breaks
out again at the Time we are writing
theſe Memoirs; and this War of one
part of *Europe*, has left an open Field to
all thoſe which have ſince ſo violently
ſhaken the other Monarchies, that in e-
very one of them the Kings have either

1699. been drove from their Capitals, or their Crowns very much endangered.

To return to the Tranſactions of *Vienna*, where the Negotiations were now very important by the Diſpatches of the King, which were brought to Marquiſs *de Villars*, dated the 6th of *May* 1700.

1700. By theſe Letters his Majeſty gave Marquiſs *de Villars* the Reaſon, why he could not let him hearken to the Propoſals which the Emperour's Miniſters had made him, with reſpect to a Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. Theſe Reaſons were founded, on the juſt Suſpicions the King had room to entertain, of the Emperour's vaſt Deſigns, founded on the Confidence he placed in the Allies who had aſſiſted him in carrying on the laſt War; and on the Hopes which his Embaſſadors at *Madrid* gave him. In fine, the King, perſuaded that the Emperour was perſuaded he ſhould ſucceed to all the *Spaniſh* Dominions, thought it would not be proper to appear deſirous of treating with that Prince. On the contrary, he looked upon, as infinitely more ſecure, in order to preſerve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, the Meaſures he ſhould take with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, thoſe two Powers being equally afraid of being involved in a new War,

or

or of ſeeing the whole Monarchy of *Spain* poſſeſſed either by his *Gallic* Majeſty, or the Emperour. 1700.

It was therefore thought proper, to give the Emperour time to diſcover the inſufficiency of his Projects, before it would be expedient for the King to enter into any Negotiation with him.

After that the Death of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, had changed the whole Syſtem of the Negotiations, Mr. *Hoop* was ordered to declare, in the Name of the King of *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces*, that theſe two Powers did not judge it expedient for the Peace of *Europe*, nor for their own Intereſt, to engage in a new War for that of the Emperour; and that, in fine, to eſtabliſh a general Peace all over *Europe*, it was not proper to ſuffer all the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain* to be united, either in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or in that of *France*.

Nevertheleſs, theſe various Negotiations were not able to move the Emperour, any more than the little Streſs that was to be laid on the Negotiations of his Embaſſador at *Madrid*, which could give him no longer room to hope, that the Queen of *Spain* had Credit enough, to engage the *Spaniards* to give themſelves up entirely

1700. entirely to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to the manifeſt hazard of being again involved in a new and very dangerous War.

The King being of Opinion, that he could not ſafely repoſe an entire Confidence in the Emperour, thought himſelf at laſt obliged to conclude a Treaty, in *March* of the preſent Year, with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, with regard to the Diviſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. As this Treaty is well known, we ſhall not inſert the Articles of it here.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was therefore ordered to addreſs himſelf to the Emperour, to whom he made the following Speech, by which he endeavoured to ſoften, as much as lay in his Power, the ungrateful News he was going to acquaint him with.

" *S I R*,

" IN obeying the Orders with which " the King my Sovereign has been " pleaſed to honour me by his laſt Let- " ters, I ſhall take the Liberty to aſſure " YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY, that I " have always been ſtrictly commanded, " to prove to you more by my Conduct " than by Expreſſions, the ſincere Deſire " he has to live for ever in the ſtricteſt " Union with your Majeſty. The King, " my

" my Maſter, has been well pleaſed to 1700.
" give you Teſtimonies of it, as well on
" Occaſions of leſs Importance; as on
" thoſe which might facilitate a Treaty
" between *Your Majeſties.*

" This Union has been always thought
" eſſential to the Welfare of *Chriſtendom*;
" and indeed, his Majeſty cannot view,
" without Pain, thoſe Events which may
" diſturb the Tranquillity of it.

" YOUR MAJESTY knows that the
" King, deſirous of preventing ſo many
" Calamities, agreed to the Propoſals
" made laſt Year by the King of
" *Great-Britain*, and the States-General,
" to prevent, in caſe Heaven ſhould think
" fit to remove the King of *Spain*; the
" Death of this Prince, whoſe long ill
" State of Health has filled *Europe* with
" Alarms, from giving riſe to new Wars.

" The King would have been greatly
" pleaſed to hear, that *Your Imperial*
" *Majeſty*, equally touched, as well with
" the Advantages offered the Archduke
" by this Plan, as by the freſh Troubles
" to which your Dominions would be
" expoſed, in caſe you refuſed to ſign it,
" had accepted ſuch reaſonable Condi-
" tions.

" They appeared, to the King my So-
" vereign, ſo well calculated to maintain

a general

1700. " a general Tranquillity, that he has at
" laſt taken a Reſolution, to conclude,
" with the King of *Great-Britain* and the
" *States-General*, a Treaty conformable
" to thoſe very Propoſitions. The King
" has commanded me to communicate
" them to your Imperial Majeſty; and in
" caſe you think fit to join in them, no-
" thing will now be wanting to the Mea-
" ſures which are taken, to preſerve the
" Peace of *Europe*.

" The Overture to the *Spaniſh* Succeſ-
" ſion, is juſtly conſidered as the Source
" of a long War; but no Blood will be
" ſhed, in caſe this Quarrel is ended by
" a juſt Partition. All Diſputes will ceaſe;
" and the Nations now ſubject to the
" King of *Spain*, will recognize new So-
" vereigns, without any fatal Conſequen-
" ces ariſing from this Change, but which
" it would be impoſſible to prevent, in
" caſe the Succeſſion to ſo many Countries
" ſhould be decided by force of Arms.

" The King cannot believe, that the
" Prudence and Piety of your Imperial
" Majeſty, will permit you to prefer the
" uncertain Events of War, and the Evils
" which are inſeparable from it, to ſuch
" juſt Propoſals; eſpecially when you ſee
" that, to ſave *Chriſtendom* from theſe
" Calamities, the King will deſiſt from

his

'his juſt and lawful Rights; and not 1700.
'employ for that purpoſe, Forces, which
'he may uſe whenever Neceſſity ſhall re-
'quire it.

"In fine, SIR, I will take the Liberty
'to repreſent to your Imperial Majeſty,
'that ſuch Reſolutions don't admit of
'great Delays; that they ought to be
'ſpeedily taken; and that it is neceſſary
'to ſhow, that any Attempt to oppoſe
'them would be vain. The King ex-
'pects an immediate Anſwer, and Com-
'mands me to ſend back the Courier
'he diſpatched to me, a few Days after
'I ſhall have had the Honour to inform
'your Imperial Majeſty, of the Orders
'he brought.

"Here, SIR, is a Copy of the Treaty
'which I ſhall have the Honour to put
'into the Hands of your Imperial Ma-
'jeſty, or to ſuch of your Miniſters as
'you ſhall pleaſe to nominate for that
'purpoſe."

The Emperour ſeemed ſurprized at this ſpeech, and ſaid only, that no one was more deſirous to preſerve the Tranquillity of *Europe* than himſelf; and that he (the Marquiſs) might give the Treaty he preſented to Count *Kaunits*.

Marquiſs

1700. Marquiſs *de Villars*, the inſtant he left the Emperour, carried the Treaty to the laſt mentioned Miniſter, who, at his taking it, only lifted up his Eyes to Heaven and ſaid theſe Words: *One above will have a Hand in the Partition of the Monarchies of the World.*

His Majeſty's Diſpatches informed Marquiſs *de Villars* very minutely, of whatever had been tranſacted in *England*, between the Earl of *Portland*, and the Emperour's Miniſters; at the *Hague*, between Mr. *Heinſius*, and the ſame Miniſters; and in *France*, between Marquiſs *de Torcy*, and Count *Zintzendorff*. This laſt, upon reading the Treaty with Mr. *de Torcy*, made ſeveral Remarks on the Alterations that might be made in it, eſpecially with regard to the *Milaneze*. Mr. *de Torcy* anſwered, that in caſe Count *Zintzendorff* ſhould make any Propoſals in the Emperour's Name, the King would have them examined with the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* and the United-Provinces.

Among other Particulars of which his Majeſty informed Marquiſs *de Villars*, he told him, that the Queen of *Spain* was quite fallen out with Count *Harach*, the Emperour's Embaſſador at *Madrid*; and from that Moment, this Prince had no longer room to expect, as he had always hoped,

hoped, that *Spain* would deliver it ſelf up entirely to him. And indeed, there was a powerful Faction at *Madrid*, which was inclined to beſtow the Crown on one of the Sons of the Dauphin; and the moſt judicious adviſed the Emperour to agree with the King. 1700.

The greateſt Difficulty of the Emperour, with regard to the Treaty of Partition, related to the *Milaneze*, which was to be given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in exchange for the Duchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. And there was great Reaſon to hope, that the Emperour would be ſatisfied that *Milan* ſhould be made over to a Nephew, who was ſo dear to him, and whom he had brought up.

Notwithſtanding the authentick Declarations Marquiſs *de Villars* was to make, *viz.* that his Majeſty would not admit of any Alteration in the Treaty, he yet was ordered to hear the Propoſals, which the Emperour's Miniſters might make. In caſe they only offered the King ſome part of the *Indies*, or ſome Provinces in the *Low-Countries*, Marquiſs *de Villars* was commanded to reject them. If nevertheleſs *Luxemburg* was one of theſe Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and they would join the Kingdom of *Navarre* to it, the King reſerved to himſelf the conſidering, whether

1700. whether this Partition ſuited him, leaving the *Milaneze* united to the Crown of *Spain*. Finally, if the Emperour, laying aſide his Pretenſions to the *Milaneze*, ſhould require the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* ſhould not be ſeparated from the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered to hear the Propoſals which ſhould be made, to reſerve thoſe Kingdoms for the Archduke, when King of *Spain*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered, to inform the King very exactly, with reſpect to theſe various Propoſals of a Change, and not to mention a Word of it to Mr. *Hoop*; his Majeſty being determined to communicate them directly, himſelf, to *Great-Britain*, and the *States-General*.

After that Marquiſs *de Villars* had given the Treaty to the Emperour's Miniſter, he wrote to the King; and we believe it may be proper to inſert here this firſt Diſpatch, it being preparatory to an important Negotiation.

" *SIR*,

" I Have had the Honour to inform " YOUR MAJESTY, by my laſt Let- " ter, that I had an Audience of the " Emperour the Evening of the 18th.

You

"You will find in this, a faithful and exact Relation of all I have ſince tranſacted, in Obedience to your Orders. I have ſtudied them with all the Attention they merited. You will ſuffer me, firſt, to admire the Motives which have regulated your Majeſty's Conduct, and which you have deſigned to inform me of, that ſublime Genius, and that profound Wiſdom, whoſe Penetration diſtinguiſhes, by infallible Rules, Truth from Appearances; and point out the right way to ſuch Miniſters as have the Honour to ſerve you; and to ſuch a Degree, SIR, that their firſt and almoſt only Object ought to be, to tranſmit, in the cleareſt manner poſſible, all they ſee and all they hear; fully perſuaded, that if their Prejudices ſhould make them err, your Majeſty will not miſtake in your Deciſions. Thus, in the important Affair you have been pleaſed to truſt to me, I ſhall have the Honour to give you an Account, not only of the Emperour's Words and thoſe of his Miniſters, but likewiſe, ſo far as I am able, the Air with which they uttered them. 1700.

"I have uſed the very ſame Expreſſions which your Majeſty did me the Honour to preſcribe, when I ſpoke in

"your

1700. " Name to the Emperour. He anſwered
" in general Terms, that 'twas his Inten-
" tion to continue always in a perfect In-
" telligence with your Majeſty; that he
" remembred all that had been propoſed
" and tranſacted, during the Courſe of a
" Year, between his Miniſters and thoſe
" of *Holland*; that he thought he had
" ſhown his Moderation, in what had
" paſſed; and that he would examine
" the Treaty which your Majeſty or-
" dered me to communicate to him. At
" the Concluſion of my Harangue, the
" Tendency of which was to urge a Reſo-
" lution, the Emperour ſaid, that an Af-
" fair of ſo much Importance would re-
" quire long Deliberations; that he ne-
" vertheleſs would ſee what might be
" ſaid to me, before my Courier ſet out;
" and ordered me to give the Treaty to
" Count *Kaunits*.

" I found this Miniſter in the Empe-
" rour's Antichamber; and aſked him,
" when I might have an Opportunity of
" ſpeaking to him; after having juſt hint-
" ed, that I was to put into his Hands
" the Copy of a Treaty, with which I
" had acquainted the Emperour.

" The News of it had been brought
" before the Arrival of your Couriers
" and Count *Kaunits* told me, that he

" knew

"knew it was ſigned the 25th of *March*. 1700.
"The *Venetian* Embaſſador had told me
"the ſame, and repeated the greateſt Part
"of the Articles of the Treaty.

"After having uſed this Diligence in
"ſpeaking to Count *Kaunits*, I ſpoke to
"Count *Harach*, who appeared in pretty
"great Emotion, and made great Com-
"plaints againſt his Maſter's Allies.
"*Theſe*, ſaid he, *are your good Friends:*
"*but is it uſual to give away the Poſſeſſions*
"*of others?* He afterwards ſpoke to me
"concerning ſeveral Particulars of the
"Treaty, ſaying, *I had already obſerved*
"*to you, Sir, that* Great-Britain *and* Hol-
"land *ſtudied nothing but their own Inte-*
"*reſt. Theſe Powers give us ſuch a Por-*
"*tion of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy as cannot*
"*be maintained. What ſhall be done with*
"Flanders? *How will it be poſſible to pre-*
"*ſerve the* Indies *without a Fleet? The*
"*Archduke, then, muſt be always at the*
"*Mercy of the King, for* Spain; *and depen-*
"*dant on* Great-Britain *and* Holland *with*
"*reſpect to the* Indies." *Sir*, anſwered I,
"*If you reflect on that Portion of the* Spa-
"niſh *Monarchy which is allotted to the*
"*Archduke, by the uſe the* Spaniards *make*
"*of it; and we ſhould judge in like man-*
"*ner of that which relates to us, you will*
"*confeſs that ours is the ſmalleſt Portion.*

"*You*

1700. " *You know, Sir, that the Kingdoms of* Naples *and* Sicily *are engaged in ſuch a* " *manner, that the King draws very little* " *from them. But when a Prince, ſo well* " *educated as the Archduke is, and who, in* " *a tender Age, is ſo very promiſing, ſhall* " *be abſolute* Sovereign; *you then will find,* " *Sir, that the Empire of the* Indies *and* " Spain, *if well governed, will form a very* " *powerful State. I know what is now* " *actually drawn from the two* Caſtiles; " *and if the Miſery of the actual Govern-* " *ment of* Spain *makes, as it were, all the* " *Gold of the* Indies *to melt in the Hands of* " *the* Spaniards; *there wants nothing but* " *a judicious Prince to raiſe up a Power,* " *which is oppreſſed more by its own Weight,* " *and by the Ignorance of its Miniſters,* " *than by its natural Weakneſs.* In fine, " SIR, after he had ſighed and bewailed, their being abandoned by " Allies, whom the Empire had ſupported, when they were upon the Brink " of Ruin; Count *Harach* expreſſed his " Sorrow, for not having treated directly " with me. *Was it not better,* ſays he, " *as our Princes are ſo nearly related, and* " *ſo juſt and religious, for them to agree?* " *'Twould be eaſy to anſwer you on that* " *Head,* replied I; *and you will give me*

" *leave*

"leave to explain to you the Conduct of his *Majeſty.* 1700.

"*Immediately after the Concluſion of the* "*Peace of* Ryſwick, *the King nominated* "*Meſſieurs* de Tallard, d' Harcourt, *and* "*my ſelf, to wait upon the Emperour, and* "*the Kings of* Spain *and* Great-Britain. "*I ſhould have ſet out at the ſame time* "*with the two former, had not the Death* "*of my Father which happened at that* "*time, made me beſeech the King to indulge* "*me a few Months longer.* (I thought, "Sir, I might employ this Reaſon, tho' "'twas not that which detained me, as "your Majeſty knows,) *I arrived here* "*two Years ago; and you know, that the* "*Emperour did not ſend a Miniſter to the* "*King, till fifteen Months after. Upon* "*my Arrival at* Vienna, *I found ſo great* "*a Coldneſs, and a Behaviour ſo very dif-* "*ferent from what I had met with in my* "*firſt Journey; that I could not forbear* "*diſcovering my Surprize, and making my* "*juſt Complaints to Count* Kaunits. *And* "*indeed, I was there a whole Month before* "*I received a ſingle Viſit. Even ſome of* "*my old Friends, who had ſent to know* "*what time they might conveniently come* "*to ſee me, deſired to be excuſed. You your* "*ſelf, Sir, are ſenſible, that thoſe of the* "*greateſt Diſtinction among you, never in-*

1700. " *vited me to their Houſes, but till after*
" *they had done me the Honour to come and*
" *dine with me; and aſhamed, as it were,*
" *not to pay the Honours of their Court to*
" *a Foreigner. So that, in caſe I received*
" *Honours afterwards, I may preſume to*
" *ſay, this was not done, till after I had*
" *thrown my ſelf into the way of them.*
" *The late Count* Kinſki, *and ſeveral other*
" *Noblemen never came once to my Houſe.*
" *A Treatment, ſo different from that which*
" *uſed to be ſhown to his Majeſty's Envoys,*
" *and of which 'twas my Duty to inform his*
" *Majeſty, began to perſuade him, that he*
" *could lay no great Streſs on the Friend-*
" *ſhip of this Court. The Affair which*
" *happened to me at the Archduke's, ful-*
" *ly convinced him of it. Recollect, Sir,*
" *the Dilatorineſs that was uſed, and the*
" *Difficulties which aroſe, before I could ob-*
" *tain the juſt Satisfaction his Majeſty re-*
" *quired. Nor would it have been made,*
" *had it not been for the fear of breaking a*
" *Correſpondence, which expoſed you to the*
" *Mercy of* Great-Britain *and* Holland;
" *there being no other way of treating di-*
" *rectly with his Majeſty. With ſuch a*
" *Conduct as this, could it have been ſup-*
" *poſed, that the Emperour had a very ſin-*
" *cere Deſire to unite with the King? I be-*
" *lieve I may preſume to ſay, that the firſt*

" *Propoſals*

" *Propoſals were not made, till the Impe-* 1700.
" *rial Court ſaw me juſt going to leave it ;*
" *upon their refuſal to make me the Satisfac-*
" *tion demanded by his Majeſty.*

Here Count *Harach* interrupted me, and ſaid ; " *Sir, the Reaſon why no Con-*
" *ference was had immediately with you*
" *was, becauſe the Emperour always con-*
" *ſidered himſelf as the only true and law-*
" *ful Heir to the Monarchy of* Spain. *Se-*
" *condly, before your Arrival here, the*
" *King had already agreed with* Great-
" Britain *and* Holland, *with regard to the*
" *Electoral Prince of* Bavaria.

" *No, Sir,* replied I ; *I believe I can*
" *aſſure you, that nothing had been agreed*
" *on that occaſion, before my Arrival. If*
" *the King has ſince conſented to any thing*
" *in favour of the Electoral Prince, he has*
" *ſtill diſcovered the ſame Moderation ; and*
" *after the Death of that Prince, you ought*
" *to have appeared deſirous, rather than*
" *averſe, to treat with his Majeſty.*

" *But after all,* continued Count *Ha-*
" *rach, is there nothing for us to negotiate*
" *upon, and is every Thing ended ?* I re-
" plied, *you find a Treaty is concluded.*
" *As to the Treaty,* reſumed the Count,
" *we can never conſent to it.* I went on :
" *The King has commanded me to ſend back*
" *my Courier in a Week at farthеſt. He*

1700. " *earneſtly wiſhes, that theſe Conditions, in*
" *which he has ſhown the greateſt Modera-*
" *tion, may be agreeable to the Emperour.*
" *With regard to my ſelf, Sir; I ſhall find*
" *in the Interval to which I am fixed, what*
" *you will do me the Honour to ſay; and*
" *ſhall give his Majeſty a faithful Account*
" *of the whole.* This, Sir, is the Sub-
" ſtance of the firſt Converſation I had
" with Count *Harach.*

" I went from him to Count *Kaunits*,
" who appeared very reſerved, ſilent and
" ſurprized. As his Anſwers to me
" were ſhort, I did not ſay ſo much to
" him, as I had done to Count *Harach.*
" Nevertheleſs, after having liſtned to
" me ſome time, he ſaid; *All this, Meſ-*
" *ſieurs* de Bouflers *and* Portland *had nego-*
" *tiated before the Peace.* I aſſured him
" of the contrary, and he replied, *There*
" *is One above,* (pointing to the Skies)
" *will have a Hand in this Partition.* I
" anſwered, *That* One *will declare for*
" *Juſtice.* *'Tis however,* ſaid he, *an un-*
" *parallelled Thing, for* Great-Britain *and*
" Holland *to divide the Monarchy of* Spain.
" *And this third Power you threaten us*
" *with, where is he? I don't know him,*
" *What! Shall the* Dutch *give away King-*
" *doms?* As he inveighed very much a-
" gainſt the King of *Great-Britain* and

" the

" the *United-Provinces*, I ſaid, *Sir, give* 1700.
" *me leave to plead their Apology. Theſe*
" *two Powers have juſt before carried on a*
" *War which was very expenſive to them,*
" *and did not coſt the Emperour a Far-*
" *thing; for, in ſhort, the* Turkiſh *War,*
" *only, has put you to expence. You had*
" *ſome Troops in* Italy, *and but two Regi-*
" *ments of* Huſſars *in the Empire, which*
" *were not in its Pay.* Great-Britain *and*
" Holland *have therefore, only, bore the whole*
" *Burthen. Can you believe that theſe two*
" *Nations will be very eager to engage in a*
" *new War, merely for your Intereſt, when*
" *the King proves by his Moderation, that*
" *he has nothing at Heart, but the Welfare*
" *and Tranquillity of* Europe? I then put
" the Treaty into his Hands, and this
" was the End of our Converſation, the
" moſt eſſential Part of which I have re-
" lated.

" Next Day, Count *Harach* invited
" me to dine with him, when he drank
" to the happy Union of your Majeſty
" and the Emperour. He is naturally
" very polite, and he appeared much
" more ſo that Day. After the Dinner
" was over, he ſaid to me; *This is the*
" *Treaty Mr.* Hoop *has ſent to the Em-*
" *perour. You'll give me leave to ſhow*
" *you, that, among other Particulars,*

1700. " *two are unjuſtifiable, with regard to*
" *the IV and IX Articles. How! Oblige*
" *the Emperour to deprive his Succeſſors of*
" *the lawful Reverſion of their Poſſeſſions!*
" *And, ſhould Fate order it ſo unhappily,*
" *that but one Prince of the Houſe of* Au-
" ſtria *ſhould ſurvive; can the Emperour*
" *conſent to deprive him of the whole* Spa-
" niſh *Succeſſion? We therefore muſt go to*
" *War, and hazard every Thing. Beſides,*
" *the* Milaneze *is a Fief of the Empire.*
" *Since when have the King of* Great-Britain
" *and* Holland *ſet up for Emperours? For*
" *'tis the Emperour's Right to diſpoſe of this*
" *Fief, as* Charles V *had diſpoſed of it in*
" *Favour of his Son.*

" *If the diſpoſal of it,* ſaid I, *were the*
" *only Difficulty; provided the Emperour did*
" *not give it to his Son; or rather, ſhould he*
" *beſtow it in Conformity to the Articles of*
" *the Treaty, this perhaps would be no Ob-*
" *ſtacle. But I am not ſurprized, that*
" *Potentates who endeavour to preſerve an*
" *Equality (the ſole Foundation of public*
" *Tranquillity) will not ſuffer an Empe-*
" *rour, whoſe Power is conſiderably in-*
" *creaſed by his late Conqueſts, to join the*
" Indies, Spain *and* Flanders *to his Crown.*
" *Sir,* replied *Count* Harach, *all this is*
" *nothing, for we cannot maintain it. We*
" *now ſpeak like Men of Honour; and as*

" *to*

" *to my ſelf, I declare I have not the Em-* 1700.
" *perour's Orders for it. But, take the*
" *Portion you allow the Arch-Duke, and*
" *leave us the reſt.* To this I anſwered;
" *The only Thing I ſhall take upon my ſelf,*
" *is, to tranſmit what you ſhall ſay to me.*
" *After a Treaty is concluded, you may*
" *judge that my Powers extend no farther.*
" Count *Harach* concluded with ſaying,
" *Sir, I ſpeak theſe of my own Head.* This
" is a faithful Account of the ſecond
" Conference."

The reſt of Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Letter, related to other Points which no ways concerned the Negotiation.

In the mean time, the Emperour really deſirous of uniting with the King, laboured very induſtriouſly with his Miniſters in order to find ſome Expedient for that purpoſe. So important an Affair deſerved the moſt ſerious Debates; and Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* employed all their Endeavours to convince the Marquiſs, that they were far from intending to amuſe him; and that he would be entirely ſatisfied with the Propoſals they had to make him.

In his laſt Converſation with Count *Harach*, this Miniſter told him, that the Memorial of what he was to ſay to him

1700. was drawn up; but that Count *Kaunits* was ſo ill, that it would be two Days before he could be at the Reading of it with him; that he himſelf did not care to read it alone, becauſe that, in ſo ſerious an Affair, he would not hazard the taking upon himſelf only, either the Interpretations or the Anſwers. Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered, that, ſince two ſuch able Miniſters were ſo cautious as not to act ſeparately, he aſſured them before hand that he himſelf would take no leſs; that he would tranſmit the Memorial, and would write in their Preſence, whatever he thought might be added to it.

Count *Kaunits*'s Indiſpoſition at *Laxemburg*, made Count *Harach* delay for ſome Days, the Reading of the Memorial. But at laſt, theſe two Miniſters being come to *Vienna*, they appointed Marquiſs *de Villars* a Meeting, and read two Memorials to him; one of which he might communicate to Mr. *Hoop*, but was to communicate the other to his Majeſty only.

The firſt was filled with the Emperour's Complaints. Firſt, that in the Life-time of his Catholic Majeſty, a Treaty of Partition had been made of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, in oppoſition to the Regard which ought to have been ſhown ſo auguſt a King, and the venerable Heirs of

of ſo great a Monarchy. Secondly, that neither equality nor decency had been obſerved in this Treaty, ſince it contained the injurious Condition following; that if the Emperour did not agree to the preſent Treaty in three Months, he, who was next Heir, ſhould not have any Part of this Monarchy, when the Succeſſion ſhould be vacant. That moreover, 'twas but juſt for the Emperour to concert with the King on theſe Matters; but that he would not take one Step, till the Courier he had ſent to *Spain* was returned; Religion, Honeſty and Decency requiring, that he ſhould firſt know what the King of *Spain* thought, with regard to this Partition of his Dominions. 1700.

With reſpect to the ſecond Memorial, the Emperour's Miniſters told Marquiſs *de Villars*, that it was for himſelf only, and muſt not be communicated to Mr. *Hoop*, as we before obſerved.

It contained firſt, that the Emperour was greatly ſurprized, that his Majeſty would treat of the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion with foreign Powers, tho' they had no right to any ſhare of this Monarchy, of which the King and the Emperour were the only Heirs.

It declared, ſecondly, that a Union being entirely ſettled between thoſe two Princes,

1700. who only were concerned in the Succeſſion, the Emperour did not deſire any thing ſo much, as to correſpond directly with his Majeſty, without the Participation of the Mediators who had merely ſet themſelves up as ſuch.

In fine, that the Emperour being allowed three Months to declare himſelf, this Time might eaſily be employed in treating with the King; referring to his Majeſty, either to inveſt Marquiſs *de Villars* with full Powers, or to ſuffer the Emperour to tranſmit them to Count *Zintzendorff*.

The laſt Memorial added, that in caſe the King was willing to enter into a Treaty with the Emperour, that of Partition might be left in the ſame State, and another be concluded, which ſhould be kept ſecret, till the Time proper for putting it in Execution; that nevertheleſs, the Emperour ſhould accept, in due form, the Treaty already concluded, during which, a particular Negotiation, for a new Diſpoſition of Things, ſhould be carried on under Hand.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was writing; and as theſe firſt Conferences were not once continued, he diſcovered his Surprize to the Emperour's Miniſters upon that Account; and told them, that as he had already

ready acquainted the King with the ſubject of Count *Harach*'s firſt Converſation with him, his Majeſty would be very much aſtoniſhed, ſhould thoſe ſo-much expected Memoirs contain nothing but general Propoſals. 1700.

To this, the Miniſters anſwered; *Are you impowered to treat? 'Tis not uſual, nor indeed would it be to any purpoſe, to deſcend to Particulars in the Preliminaries of a Negotiation.*

• *But you take no notice*, replied Marquiſs *de Villars*, *of the Treaty.* Count *Harach* anſwered, *When the King allows three Months, 'tis in the view of carrying on a Treaty; otherwiſe, there is no occaſion but to anſwer yes, or no, at the Expiration of the Time agreed upon. Would you*, added he, *deſire to have more ſaid to you? The Emperour will never admit the Article of the Succeſſion, ſince, ſhould Heaven ſnatch from him one of thoſe two Princes, his Imperial Majeſty would never conſent to ſee his Houſe diſpoſſeſſed of the entire Monarchy, of* Spain. *He will riſk every Thing rather than give up this Point, and he does not doubt but he ſhall find Friends. In fine, he cannot prevail with himſelf to give up all the* Milaneze, *but he'l willingly reſign all Pretenſions to the* Indies.

1700. *What a Propoſal is this!* replied Marquiſs *de Villars. The firſt made by Count* Harach, *was, to give the entire Portion of the Archduke. Your laſt Propoſals are ſo oppoſite to the firſt, that I'll never take upon me to tranſmit them to the King; and Count* Zintzendorff *may, if he pleaſes, acquaint him with them.*

Count *Kaunits* ſpoke: *But Sir, ſay ſomething to us; I never imagined, that the Empire of the* Indies, *which was offered at firſt, was inconſiderable, when compared to the Exchange of the Kingdoms of* Naples *and* Sicily. *If, beſides, the King is ſo deſirous of* Lorrain, *the Emperour will take upon him to ſatisfy the Duke of* Lorrain.

Marquiſs *de Villars* ſhowed on this occaſion, that the King could deſire to have *Lorrain*, for no other reaſon than merely to put an end to a Conteſt; the Situation of this little State being ſuch, that it could never occaſion the leaſt Uneaſineſs, and that its Income was very ſmall either in Peace or War. Finally, that whether its Duke were in his Majeſty's Intereſt, or otherwiſe, his Territories could not be diſpenſed from having Troops quartered in them in Winter.

As the Emperour's Miniſters did not come to a poſitive Concluſion, Marquiſs *de Villars* deſired they would; to which they

they anſwered, that in caſe the King was willing to treat at *Vienna*, he had no more to do than to inveſt Marquiſs *de Villars* with Powers for that purpoſe; but if his Majeſty, on the contrary, would treat with Count *Zintzendorff*, he would tranſmit Powers to him, the Moment his Majeſty ſhould declare, that this was agreeable to him. Finally, that the ſhorteſt way would be to treat at *Vienna*, becauſe our Couriers are nimbler than thoſe of the Emperour. 1700.

The Marquiſs replied that, to ſhorten a Negotiation, 'twas neceſſary both Parties ſhould deſire it: That he had waited Twenty-three Days for an Anſwer, a Circumſtance, he was forced to declare, was no ways agreeable to him, and for this reaſon he deſired not to be concerned in the Negotiation. Firſt, becauſe his Majeſty would be better ſerved by the Miniſters who were near his Perſon, than by himſelf. Secondly, becauſe as he had expected that conſiderable Overtures ſhould be made him, theſe would be much leſs than he had reaſon to hope for. That therefore, he ſhould be obliged to acquaint his Majeſty, that 'twould be much more for his Intereſt, to have ſo ſerious an Affair tranſacted under his own Eye.

This

1700. This Anſwer was made with the coldeſt Air imaginable.

But is not the Court of France, ſaid the Miniſters, ſenſible, *that the Cauſe of God, as well as the Intereſt of our Maſters, call upon them to unite? And what Faith can* France *repoſe in Powers, who, after having been united to the Emperour by Treaties, do nevertheleſs infringe them openly? Be aſſured that you your ſelves will meet with the like Treatment, whenever they have Opportuuity for it. Tho' the King of* Spain *is in ſo very ill a State of Health, there is yet room to hope, that he will outlive King* William; *and ſhould this happen, the King will have the Glory to reſtore the King of* Great-Britain *to his Dominions, and eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion in them. We may carry on a Treaty ſecretly, and ſeem to agree to the Treaty of Partition; and, as ſoon as the King of* Spain *ſhall be dead, the King and the Emperour may take ſuch Portions as may beſt ſuit them; for it cannot be denied, but 'tis in their Power to put this in Execution.*

The two Miniſters added, that all *Italy* would oppoſe the Endeavours of the King to poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch States in that Country, as would give him an eaſy Opportunity of conquering all the reſt.

Marquiſs *de Villars* made ſuch an Anſwer to this as naturally ſuggeſted it ſelf, *viz.*

viz. that *Italy* would be ſtill more afraid of the Emperour, whoſe real or ſuppoſed Rights, would ſubject the whole. 1700.

Count *Kaunits* reſumed; *The Rights of* Charlemain, *tho' very ancient, will be better maintained by* France *than Ours, which doubtleſs are more valid and recent. And the Pope would ſoon be at* Avignon, *ſhould one of your Princes be put in poſſeſſion of* Naples *and* Sicily.

The Marquiſs anſwered, that the Pope, the Citizens of *Rome*, and all *Italy*, would be under leſs Apprehenſions, (the *Milaneze* being poſſeſſed by its own particular Prince) than to ſee themſelves ſurrounded by the Emperour's Power; that this was the Opinion of all the Citizens of *Rome*; and that the *Venetians* would be better pleaſed with ſeeing the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Milan*, than any other Prince.

But when you ſhall be poſſeſſed of Naples *and* Sicily, replied the two Miniſters, *how will it be poſſible for theſe to preſerve themſelves from being entirely dependent on you, ſince your Fleets are powerful enough, to triumph over, or intimidate the whole* Mediterranean? Here the Conference ended, and nothing was done.

During this Negotiation, Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered to keep a watchful Eye over every thing that was tranſacting with

1700. with regard to the War begun in the North. The Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; *Pruſſia*, *Poland*, and the *Czar*, made Propoſals for an Alliance either with *France* or the Emperour; and promiſed both theſe Powers, to aſſiſt them, in caſe of the Diviſions which would probably break out, upon the King of *Spain*'s Death. Finally, all *Europe* was alarmed, and all things ſeemed to prepare a general Fire, which nothing but a ſincere Union of the King with the Emperour could extinguiſh.

The Duke of *Savoy* was concerting Meaſures for his own Intereſt; and his Embaſſador, who was in very great Emotion, held frequent Conferences with the Emperour's Miniſters; was often with Marquiſs *de Villars*, and with the Miniſters of the Maritime Powers. But one might eaſily perceive in all theſe Conferences, that his Maſter was determined to join with that Power who ſhould make the largeſt Offers.

In the mean time, Marquiſs *de Villars* received a Letter from the King, dated *June* 16. It declared expreſsly, that 'twas his Majeſty's Opinion the Emperour did not act ſincerely with him; that the Propoſals of treating directly were owing to a ſecret Deſign of making the King

King averſe to the Meaſures taken by him with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, rather than to a ſincere Deſire of ſharing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy with the King; that the Emperour's Deſign was to make an Advantage of the Reſolution which he ſuppoſed was taken by the King of *Spain*, viz. to declare the Archduke his univerſal Heir; and that he endeavoured to draw over the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe Troops he wanted, to facilitate the Execution of this Deſign. 1700.

The Delays made by the Imperial Miniſters, who always refuſed to come to an Explanation, increaſed alſo the Suſpicions of his Majeſty; and enforced the Reſolution he had made, to adhere to the Treaty of Partition.

To confeſs the Truth, his Majeſty had never been of Opinion, that the Emperour would ſincerely ſhare the Monarchy of *Spain* with him; and as the Emperour had the ſame thoughts as his Majeſty, each had begun to take ſuch Meaſures, as were directly oppoſite to that apparent Deſign. His Imperial Majeſty was perſuaded, that his old Allies would engage more ſtrenuouſly in his Intereſt; and the King thought he ſhould gain a great Point, in dividing a League which had occaſioned ſo long and bloody a War.

This

1700. This had been his Majeſty's View in negotiating the Peace of *Ryſwick*; and the firſt Inſtructions given Marquiſs *de Villars* were, that he ſhould endeavour to perſuade the various Courts of the Empire, whoſe Miniſters were in *Vienna*, that the only thing they had to fear, was, the too great Power of the Emperour; ſince, after the Demiſe of the King of *Spain*, he might join thoſe wide-extended Dominions to his own.

The Houſe of *France* and *Auſtria* had been irreconcileable Enemies for many Ages. Tho' the War was concluded, it yet had not put an End to Suſpicions; and thoſe reciprocal Diſquietudes prevented the real Union, which, nevertheleſs, in Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Opinion, was more ſincerely deſired by the Emperour, than the *French* imagined.

Mr. *Hoop* told the Marquiſs, in Confidence, that he was very much diſſatisfied with the Silence and Indifference of the Imperial Miniſters; but notwithſtanding theſe Complaints, 'twas not believed that he could ſuſpect, they were engaged in a cloſe Correſpondence with Marquiſs *de Villars*.

And indeed, the Emperour's Miniſters ſeemed highly exaſperated againſt *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and Marquiſs *de Villars*

lars endeavoured very aſſiduouſly, not to give the Miniſter of thoſe Powers the leaſt Suſpicion, that the Emperour might have a Deſign to unite with the King. It was of the utmoſt Conſequence in the preſent Juncture, (conſidering the Meaſures of the Treaty of Partition,) that the King's Miniſter ſhould not diſcover the leaſt Reſerve, with reſpect to Mr. *Hoop*. The latter, on the return of a Courier from *Madrid*, being very urgent with Count *Harach* to explain himſelf more clearly than the *Spaniſh* Court had yet done, this Miniſter anſwered coldly, and even with haughtineſs, *In three Months, the Emperour will declare his Intentions.* 1700.

In the mean time, the Court of *Vienna* endeavoured to make all the Friends poſſible in the Empire. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who, being ambitious of the Title of King, promiſed, at all Events, to Succour the Emperour. The Duke of *Savoy* ſeemed alſo deſirous of joining with this Monarch.

The Embaſſador of *Savoy* at *Vienna* was hurrying about perpetually; and the Pretence for this, as he told Marquiſs *de Villars*, was, the Difficulties he met with from the Emperour's Miniſters with regard to the obtaining of ſeveral Fiefs in

1700. in favour of his Maſter. But tho' this Miniſter endeavoured very ſtudiouſly to conceal all his Deſigns, nevertheleſs, Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaw through them all.

A Courier now arrived from *Madrid* to *Vienna*, upon the Report which had been ſpread concerning the Treaty of Partition. The Imperial Miniſters ſaid only to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that the King of *Spain* ſhowed the utmoſt Reſolution at his hearing of this News; that his Catholick Majeſty had writ a ſhort Letter to the Emperour, by which he informed him, that all the Great Men of his Kingdom, had diſcovered to him their Indignity for the Treaty which had been concluded; and that all had aſſured him, they were ready to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes, to prevent the Execution of it.

The Prince of *Schwartzenberg* did not aſſiſt at theſe Conferences, but was in great Favour with the Empreſs, and conſequently knew what was treating. He ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*; *Call to mind, Sir, the ſubject of our firſt Converſation. Perſons who are much more conſiderable than I have ſpoke; but I again repeat to you, that nothing will be ſo advantageous to our two Sovereigns as a good Underſtanding, and a Partition concerted by them; for certainly, that*

that regulated by the Treaty will never take place. 1700.

Mr. *de Torcy* ſent Marquiſs *de Villars* an exact Account of whatever had paſſed between him and Count *Zintzendorff*, with reſpect to the Orders the latter had received from the Emperour; and the whole concluded with this Aſſurance, that this Prince would never conſent to have his Son, the Archduke, ſent into *Spain*. All the Conditions which Count *Zintzendorff* offered, were leſs advantageous than thoſe the Imperial Miniſters had made Marquiſs *de Villars*, and which they had deſired ſhould be kept very ſecret. Thus the moſt conſiderable part of the Negotiation was carrying on at *Vienna*.

The Court of *France* was prompted to believe, that his Catholick Majeſty deſired to have the Archduke near his Perſon. And indeed, 'twas proper enough, as that King was ſo ill, that this young Prince ſhould be near at hand, in order to ſucceed to the Crown of *Spain*, immediately upon the King's Demiſe. Hence Marquiſs *de Villars* watched very attentively all the Steps of the Archduke, in order to inform his Majeſty of them with the utmoſt Diligence. He even would have diſpatched a Courier immediately to *Toulon*, where he knew a great Number of Veſſels

1700. Veſſels were equipping, to give Advice to the Lords of the Admiralty, in caſe the Archduke had taken the route of *Italy*; in order that if our Admirals might have orders to intercept the Paſſage of that Prince to *Spain*, they might have ſpeedy notice of that Deſign.

During this Interval, the War which was begun in *Livonia*, divided the Empire. Such Princes as oppoſed the eſtabliſhing of a ninth Electorate, ſupported that Party which they thought was leaſt attached to the Court of *Vienna*. On the other Side, the Emperour, diſſatisfied with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, won over all ſuch as leaſt favoured thoſe Powers; and, as has been already ſeen, *Europe* ſeemed now more diſpoſed than ever, to engage in a general War.

The Negotiation carrying on at *Vienna*, was ſo much the more delicate, as 'twas equally the Intereſt of his Majeſty and the Emperour, to conceal their Deſigns from the maritime Powers.

The Emperour however, did not act with ſo much Caution, but complained very much of their Conduct; whilſt their Miniſters employed all the Arguments poſſible to perſuade the Marquiſs, and prove to him, that nothing could be ſo much for the Intereſt of their Sovereigns

as a ſtrict Alliance between them. The Reaſons they gave were, that King *William* had loſt his Credit in *England*; that he was fallen out with the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*; that he was in as ill a State of Health as the King of *Spain*; finally, that *Europe* was not in a Condition to oppoſe the lawful and proper Partition which the King and the Emperour might make. To theſe Reaſons they added, the Troubles which were broke out in the North, in which *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Muſcovy*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* were concerned; that the Elector of *Bavaria* was devoted to the King; and that *Italy* would be forced to ſign the Deciſions of his Majeſty and the Emperour. To be plain, the Imperialiſts did not omit any Reaſons, whether ſpecious or ſolid, which might be capable of influencing us. 1700.

On the other Side, Marquiſs *de Villars* gave the Imperialiſts little Hopes that the King would recede from the Treaty of Partion. The Difficulties ſeemed to turn chiefly on the *Milaneze*, which the Emperour was abſolutely determined to keep. The Article of the Succeſſion was alſo ſuch, that the Emperour would never depart from it.

Marquiſs

1700. Marquiſs *de Villars* wrote to the King, that, if Count *Zintzendorff* hinted as tho' the Emperour might at laſt be prevailed upon to give up the *Milaneze*, he was perſuaded this Embaſſador was impos'd upon, according to the Maxim eſtabliſhed in the Miniſtry, that when one Court deſigns to impoſe upon another, they begin by firſt impoſing on their own Embaſſador. In fine, Marquiſs *de Villars* aſſured his Majeſty, that he muſt never expect the Emperour would make a true and formal Renunciation of the *Milaneze*.

'Twas very probable, that the Chief States of *Italy* were afraid of having the King too near them. And indeed, *Loredano*, the *Venetian* Embaſſador in *Vienna*, and one of the ableſt of the Senate, ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars* ; Great-Britain *and the* United-Provinces *cannot give his Majeſty a ſtronger Mark of their Reſpect and Eſteem, than in deſiring he ſhould not be poſſeſſed of* Flanders ; *and I believe all* Italy *is very much inclined, to wiſh he may not be Maſter of the* Milaneze.

Mr. *Hoop* was perſuaded that the *Venetians* joined with the Emperour, and that the Duke of *Savoy* was tempted to do the ſame. Marquiſs *de Villars* was alſo of Opinion, from the ſeveral Steps which were taking by this Embaſſador, that he was carrying

carrying on a ſecret Treaty with the Em- 1700.
perour.

During theſe Tranſactions, 'twas thought that the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governour of the *Milaneze*, was devoted to *France*; and a Report was ſpread, that the King of *Spain* had put him under an Arreſt. But this News was ſoon contradicted, as well as the Suſpicions that were entertained againſt the younger Prince *de Vaudemont*, who was a Man of the greateſt Honour.

In the mean time, Mr. *Hoop* received Orders from *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, to be very urgent with the Court of *Vienna*. He repreſented, that Time was precious; and that if the Emperour thought proper to neglect it, his Sovereigns were determined to do otherwiſe. But notwithſtanding his being ſo very urgent, the Imperial Miniſters anſwered him in a very cold, ambiguous manner; ſaying, that they waited for News from *Spain*, without which it would be impoſſible for the Emperour to declare himſelf; and, on the other Side, they aſſured Marquiſs *de Villars*, that their Sovereign was deſirous of treating with him. In the mean time, Count *de Zintzendorff* was perſuaded, that a Negotiation would be carried on in *France*, conſequently that he him-

1700. ſelf would have the Management of it; and Marquiſs *de Villars* did all that lay in his Power to forward this, perſuaded, that it would be ſuitable to his Majeſty's Dignity as well as Intereſt, to have the Treaty carried on under his Eye.

Count *Zintzendorff* having requeſted, that a Change might be made in the IXth Article of the Treaty, (which related to the Succeſſion, and ſpecified the choice of a third Prince,) his Majeſty, after having committed theſe Propoſals for a Change, to the King of *Great-Britain*, and *Heinſius* the Grand Penſionary, wrote Word to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that provided the Emperour would inſiſt upon no other Alteration than that of the Article in Queſtion, ſatisfaction ſhould be given him in that particular; but, that he would firſt be ſure, no other Difficulty would be ſtarted.

His Majeſty informed Marquiſs *de Villars* of another great Piece of News, *viz.* that all the Counſellors of State, but one, in *Madrid*, had declared it their Opinion, that it would be proper to invite one of the King's Grandſons to ſucceed the King of *Spain*; they looking upon this as the only Expedient, to prevent the Diviſion of their Monarchy.

Nothing

Nothing could ſo much induce the Im- 1700.
perial Miniſters to explain themſelves, as this News: Nevertheleſs; as Marquiſs *de Villars* gave the King but very little Hopes, that his Majeſty would recede from the Treaty of Partition, Count *Harach* told him, that as he was ſilent, they muſt be the ſame; and that 'twas fit they ſhould ſeek for what might be convenient to themſelves, ſince the King would not purſue his own Intereſt, which doubtleſs was, to have a good Underſtanding with their Sovereign.

The Duke *de Moles*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, arrived at *Vienna* the 10th of *July*, and was immediately admitted to Audience by the Emperour. He brought with him the Order of the Golden Fleece for the younger Prince *de Vaudemont*; and informed the Father, that he was continued three Years longer in the Government of *Milan*. 'Tis alſo ſaid, that this Embaſſador brought a Will, made by his Catholick Majeſty, in favour of the Archduke. In fine, ſometimes a Report was ſpread, that a League was formed between the Princes of *Italy* and the Emperour, which it greatly concerned Marquiſs *de Villars* to diſcover. However, he had always been of Opinion, that this Rumour had no real Foundation; and the Event plain-

1700. ly ſhowed he was not miſtaken in his Conjectures.

The Imperial Court took a Reſolution to go and ſpend the Month of *Auguſt* at *Newſtatt*. The Elector Palatine and the Electreſs went thither, and Marquiſs *de Villars* followed. There the Emperour's Miniſters were informed of the Reſolution the Councellors of State had taken at *Madrid*, *viz.* of giving the entire Monarchy to one of the Dauphin's Sons; and told Marquiſs *de Villars*, that this News did not give them the leaſt Uneaſineſs, becauſe that, in Caſe the King ſhould refuſe the Offers that were made him, he then muſt adhere to the Treaty of Partition, which was far leſs advantageous to his Majeſty than thoſe which could be concluded with the Emperour. That on the contrary, if he accepted them, the ſame Powers who were for the Partition, would unite more ſtrongly than ever with the Emperour.

Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered; *If the King ſhould refuſe the Offers of* Spain, *the beſt Thing you can do, will be to ſign the Treaty of Partition; and in caſe his Majeſty accepts of the entire Monarchy for one of the Dauphin's Sons, we ſhall not have much to fear from all the Powers who were not able to annoy us, when they ſpirited up ſo many*

many States which will then be for us; and which will certainly be better governed, when they ſhall follow the wiſe Counſels of a King, whoſe ſole Aim will be to make them happy, and keep them united under the ſame Sovereign. Thus, Gentlemen, after a ſerious Examination, you will find that nothing will be more for your Advantage than to enter into the Treaty, ſince ſome Hopes are given you, that the Article againſt which you chiefly objected, will be changed. 1700.

The News that arrived from *Spain*, made it very neceſſary for the Court of *Vienna* to determine immediately; but the Will which the Duke *de Moles* hinted was made in favour of the Archduke, kept back the Miniſters, who told Marquiſs *de Villars*, that they waited for the return of a Courier from *Spain*; and that the Moment he ſhould be arrived, they then would be able to treat with him on more certain Grounds.

Nevertheleſs, as they foreſaw that certain Circumſtances might engage them in a freſh War, they reſolved to remount their Cavalry, and recruit all their Troops, which they had ſtill kept on foot ever ſince the Peace concluded with the *Turks*.

At laſt, the long expected Courier from *Madrid* arrived. 'Twas at firſt thought, that the Imperial Miniſters had

1700 concealed his Return during three Days. But Count *Harach*, to remove all Suſpicion of it from Marquiſs *de Villars*, ſhowed him a Letter written by Count *Harach* his Son, Embaſſador at *Madrid*, the Date of which ſhowed that there had been no ſecret in the Arrival of that Courier. Conferences were frequently held at the Emperour's; and 'twas now believed, that the Emperour would not ſign the Treaty of Partition. The three Months allowed him to declare himſelf, expired the 18th of *Auguſt*, ſo that but a few Days were left for him to come to a final Reſolution.

His Majeſty expected, as he himſelf declared to Marquiſs *de Villars*, by his Letter of the 5th of *Auguſt*, that thoſe which ſhould come to *Madrid* from *Vienna*, and the Aſſurances which the Duke *de Moles* gave of the favourable Diſpoſitions of the King and Queen of *Spain* with regard to the Emperour, would keep that Prince from ſigning the Treaty of Partition, notwithſtanding the repeated Intreaties of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*. In this manner, the *French* Court waited impatiently for the Reſolution of that of *Vienna*, which ſet out the 6th of *Auguſt* for *Luxemburg*, and the 7th for *Neuſtatt*.

Marquiſs

Marquiſs *de Villars* aſked Counts *Ha-* 1709.
rach and *Kaunits*, if they did not intend to declare the Intentions of the Emperour till the 18th. Theſe Miniſters anſwered, that they had not yet been ordered to divulge them. Nevertheleſs, they explained themſelves more clearly to ſome foreign Miniſters, and made no Difficulty to declare, that the Emperour would never ſign the Treaty.

Marquiſs *de Villars* was told, that they paid the utmoſt regard to the Powers of *Italy*, relying pretty much on the Duke of *Savoy*, and entirely on that of *Modena* and the Grand-Duke. 'Twas not probable that the *Venetian* Embaſſador would declare himſelf, and the Emperour did not flatter himſelf, that he ſhould prevail with the *Genoeze* to declare in his favour.

With regard to the States of the Empire, the Court of *Vienna* thought it might depend on the Elector of *Brandenburg*, on the Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, and on the Houſe of *Hanover*, devoted to the Emperour for the Creation of a ninth Electorate, and by the Alliance of the King of the *Romans* with a Princeſs of that Houſe; for we muſt obſerve, that as the ninth Electorate was for ever attacked by moſt of the Princes of the Empire, nothing was able to eſtabliſh it on a

1700. ſolid Foundation, but the Protection and Authority of the Emperour.

When Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* ſet out for *Neuſtatt*, they ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that they did not know whether the Emperour would wait till the laſt Day before he diſcovered his Intentions: But that, what Declaration ſoever he ſhould make, the beſt Expedient for both their Sovereigns, would be, to form the ſtricteſt Union.

'Twas pretended, that the King of *Spain* had ſent Orders to the Viceroys and Governours of all his Dominions in *Italy*, to receive the Troops of the Emperour, in which caſe, his Majeſty told Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he would declare to the King of *Spain*, that in caſe this Order was not revoked, he would cauſe ſuch of his Troops, as were on the Frontiers of *Catalogna* and *Biſcay*, to enter *Spain*. In the mean time, as Marquiſs *de Villars* was got to *Neuſtatt*, Count *Harach* gave him, (the 18th) the Emperour's Anſwer with regard to the Propoſal which had been made this Prince, of entring into the Treaty of Partition.

This Anſwer declared, that the Emperour ſeeing the King of *Spain* was not in danger, notwithſtanding the Report which prevailed; being, moreover his Uncle,

Uncle, and neareſt Heir, he ſhould think it the greateſt Breach of good Manners, if, during the Life-time of that Prince, and whilſt he was ſtill capable of having Children, he ſhould join in a Treaty of Partition of his Dominions; that he hoped the King would not take this Reſolution amiſs; that nevertheleſs, in caſe the Succeſſion ſhould be vacant, he would gladly agree to any Expedient which might contribute to their ſtill maintaining the good Underſtanding which he always deſired to preſerve with his Majeſty; that with reſpect to the Nomination of a third Prince, 'twas his Opinion this was not feaſible, and that the King would not deſire it, ſince no one could pretend to diſpoſe of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions in his Life-time; nevertheleſs, that in caſe a third Perſon ſhould be fixed upon before his Death, they were reſolved and prepar'd to prevent his taking Poſſeſſion. Such was the Emperour's Anſwer. 1700.

Count *Harach* added, that the Menace of beſtowing the Monarchy upon one ſingle Prince, was the moſt aſtoniſhing thing in the World; that the Liberty of giving away Monarchies, would be ſetting a dreadful Example; and that this pretended third Prince muſt certainly be the Duke of *Savoy*. However, Marquiſs *de Villars*

1700. fancied he ſaw very plain, that the Imperial Miniſters were under no Apprehenſions from the Duke; and imagined he might perceive from their eaſineſs on this Head, that the Duke of *Savoy* held ſome Correſpondence with the Emperour.

Finally, ſays Count *Harach*, *let us quite lay aſide that Affair, and this immature Treaty, ſince the King of* Spain *enjoys his Health. Our Maſters will find hereafter, that nothing can be of ſo much Advantage to them, as to keep in a good Intelligence.*

Count *Kaunits*, in a long Conference between him and Marquiſs *de Villars*, put him in mind of the ſeveral Overtures Count *Kinſki* had made him, at the very time the Imperial Court knew, that *France* was deſirous of entering into Meaſures with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*. He added, that the Earl of *Portland* had laid the firſt Foundation of this Negotiation; that theſe two Powers had deceived them, and that they were ſure they would deceive us alſo.

Marquiſs *de Villars* convinced, by the Emperour's Anſwer, that his refuſal to enter into the Partition, would oblige the Powers who had made it, to have recourſe to violent Meaſures, repreſented again to the King, the general Advantage he would receive by agreeing to Count *Harach*'s

Harach's firſt Propoſals. He did not 1700
ſcruple to expatiate on all the Reaſons which might prompt him to this, as being the moſt glorious as well as moſt uſeful Thing he could do. In fine, he beſought his Majeſty to reflect again upon it; ſince the Emperour's refuſal would occaſion new Debates.

Several Conferences were held at *Neuſtatt* with the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to which the Preſident of War was called; and 'twas eaſy to judge from the Diſpoſitions of the Imperial Court, as well as from the Vivacity with which it treated the foreign Miniſters, that it was preparing for War, and reſolved to hazard every Thing, rather than lay aſide the Claim, (which it conſidered as the moſt lawful and juſt,) to the Succeſſion; and eſpecially, as the King of *Spain* (ſaid the Imperial Miniſters) offered to ſupport him, with all his Power, in his Pretenſions.

A Courier arrived at this time from Count *Harach* at *Madrid*, whoſe Letters confirmed the Report which had lately prevailed, of his Catholick Majeſty's Recovery. They alſo declared, that the King and Queen of *Spain* had brought over moſt of the Counſellors of State to their Opinion; they having before been

1700. deſirous, as was obſerved above, of offering the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to one of the Dauphin's Sons.

Theſe ſeveral Advices confirmed the Emperour in his Reſolution, not to enter into the Treaty of Partition. He indeed, had a great Number of Troops, but the Affairs of his Treaſury were in the utmoſt Confuſion; and the Weakneſs of *Spain* might be compared to the ill Health of its Monarch.

There were no Reſſources to ballance all theſe Inconveniencies. The chief was, the Miracle of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; this was a Proverb in the Court of *Vienna*, and a numberleſs Multitude of Examples were cited, concerning that powerful Houſe, which when ready to fall, had raiſed itſelf after being loſt to all Hopes. The reſt was expected from Time, and the *Chapter of Accidents*, ſo often cited in the Memoirs of Cardinal *de Retz*.

The King then ordered Marquiſs *de Villars* to declare to the Emperour, that, if he ſhould march Forces into *Italy*, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of the Dominions of the King of *Spain* in his Life-time, he ſhould be obliged to oppoſe ſuch an Attempt. Mr. *Hoop* made a like Declaration, in the Name of *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces*.

The

The like Orders were diſpatched to Mr. *de Blecour* at *Madrid*; and he was commanded to tell the King of *Spain*, that if he ſuffered the Emperour's Troops to enter his Dominions; his Majeſty, as well as the maritime Powers, would oppoſe them; and that, to preſerve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, 'twas neceſſary the Emperour ſhould engage himſelf, not to march his Troops in any manner which might interrupt it. 1700.

To ſay the Truth, there was no real Foundation for the Deſign which was imputed to the Emperour, of marching Troops into *Italy*. 'Tis very certain, that in ſeveral Conferences at which the Embaſſador of *Spain* and the Preſident of War aſſiſted, a Debate had been carried on, what Meaſures might be taken, in caſe *France* ſhould march Troops towards *Italy*; and if this were to happen, the Emperour deſigned to march a Body thither, by the way of *Tirol* and the *Griſons*. But there was no likelihood, that the Court of *Vienna* would make any great Motion that way.

All the Letters from *Madrid* brought Word, that his Catholick Majeſty grew better; and Cardinal *Portocarrero* had prevailed upon moſt of the Grandees, Miniſters and Counſellors of State, not to ſuffer

1700. fer a Diviſion of the Monarchy of *Spain*. Every one of them in particular, offered to give up the Income of his Employment, and to tax his whole Eſtate, in order to complete ſo glorious as well as advantageous a Deſign.

'Twas even pretended, that the King of *Spain* hired Troops of ſeveral Princes of the Empire, to reinforce the Garriſons of the *Milaneze*; and that the Elector of *Brandenburg* offered eight thouſand of his own Soldiers. However, all this ſeemed done merely out of Precaution by the King of *Spain*, and the Emperour did not ſeem to have any concern in it.

The Anſwer of his Catholick Majeſty to the Memorial of Mr. *de Blecour*, to prevent this Prince from ſending Troops into *Italy*, was, that he did not deſign thoſe of the Emperour ſhould march thither; but that he did not believe, when his own wanted to be recruited, that any Power could diſapprove it, ſince he did not concern himſelf with the Forces of other Kings.

In the mean time, Marquiſs *de Villars* obeyed the Orders he had received, and took Audience of the Emperour, to declare to him, that the King was equally deſirous of the Continuation of the general Tranquillity, and of preſerving a perfect Intelligence

Intelligence with his Imperial Majeſty; but that in caſe he ſhould march Forces into *Italy*, as was reported, that Union would ſoon be diſſolved. 1700.

The Emperour anſwered, that he had always wiſhed for Peace, and to keep up a good Underſtanding with the King; that the Reports which were ſpread with regard to the March of his Troops was without Foundation; and that he was perſuaded, his Majeſty would not make any Attempt, on the Dominions of his Catholick Majeſty.

'Tis certain, that the Emperour was deſirous of not diſturbing the preſent Tranquillity. As he hoped that the King of *Spain* would live ſome Years longer than had been imagined, he flattered himſelf, that the continuance of this Prince's Life, would give him a more favourable Opportunity, of breaking the ſeveral Meaſures which the maritime Powers had taken, merely for their own Intereſt, and in oppoſition to his. And indeed, 'twas their Intereſt that *Spain* ſhould be very weak, and governed by a Prince who ſhould be obliged to depend on them; upon the juſt Suppoſition that a Son of the Emperour would be more inclined to unite with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, than with the King of *France*.

The

1700. The Spirit of Tranquillity which was eſtabliſhed by the Promiſes the King and the Emperour had reciprocally made, not to intercept it by any march of Troops during the Life of the King of *Spain*, did not prevent the Emperour from deſiring an Explanation, with regard to the Prince on whom they intended to beſtow the Portion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, in caſe the Emperour, to whom it had been offered, ſhould not enter into the Treaty of Partition.

Count *Zintzendorff* was ordered to be very urgent with the King on this occaſion; and the Anſwer was, that neither the Choice nor the Declaration depended on the King of *Pruſſia* or the maritime Powers; and that the contracting Parties had agreed to name him, the Inſtant this ſhould be deſired, either by *France*, or *Great-Britain*, in caſe the Emperour ſhould refuſe to enter into the Treaty. Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered to make the ſame Anſwer to the Miniſters of the Court of *Vienna*, when they ſhould ſpeak to him on this ſubject.

The King communicated to Marquiſs *de Villars*, a Letter written by Mr. *de Blecour*, from *Madrid* the 24th of *September*, which gave notice that the King of *Spain* was at the Point of Death. A ſecond Letter

Letter from the *Sieur de Blecour*, dated the 28th, declaring that this Prince had received the Viaticum, a Report began to prevail that he was dead. 1700.

In the mean time, a Courier from Count *Harach*, who left *Madrid* the firſt of *October*, brought Word, that the King of *Spain* was a little better; but that there was little hopes he would live much longer.

Marquiſs *de Villars* received a Courier from the King, with Diſpatches (dated the 6th of *October*) by which he was ordered to be more urgent than ever with the Emperour, to declare himſelf with reſpect to the Treaty of Partition; the King of *Spain* being ſo very ill, that 'twas firmly believed he could live but a very few Days longer.

'Twas publickly known in *Madrid*, that moſt of the Grandees of *Spain*, ſtrongly averſe to the dividing the Monarchy of *Spain*, and not having Room to hope that they ſhould preſerve it entire, except by inviting a Grandſon of *France* to reign over them, had reſolved to declare unanimouſly in his favour. His Majeſty's Forces were lodged on the Frontiers of *Spain*, and in ſuch a manner, as to aſſiſt, without incurring any Danger, whatever

1700. whatever Party ſhould declare for one of our Princes.

The States of the Empire were very much divided, and many of its Princes were in the Intereſt of his Majeſty. In a Word, it ſeemed of dangerous Conſequence to the Emperour, not to enter into the Treaty of Partition, which, in caſe of his refuſal, nominated a third Prince to inherit the Dominions deſigned for the Archduke.

Marquiſs *de Villars* therefore deſired and was admitted to Audience by the Emperour, on which occaſion he was urgent with this Prince to explain himſelf, by ſetting before him the ſeveral Reaſons mentioned above. The only Anſwer his Imperial Majeſty made, was, that his Miniſters would acquaint Marquiſs *de Villars* with his Intentions.

Two Couriers who arrived from *Madrid*, gave ſome hopes that the King of *Spain* would live a little longer, to retard the Anſwers that were demanded, or to render them leſs favourable, to the Intreaties of the Powers united. Theſe required firſt, that the Emperour ſhould enter into the Treaty, or at leaſt ſhould promiſe, not to march any Troops either into the Dominions of *Spain* or into *Italy*: Secondly, that he ſhould not poſſeſs himſelf

ſelf, upon any Pretence, nor in any man- 1700.
ner whatſoever, of any part of the Monarchy of *Spain*.

The Emperour conſented, not to ſend any Troops, except the Recruits which were wanting in the *German* Regiments, in the King of *Spain*'s Service. But at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf all the Rights to this Monarchy, and declared that he would not enter, in any manner, into the Treaty of Partition. That beſides, he could not but be diſpleaſed with the third Prince with which he was threatned: and, in fine, that he might alſo complain very juſtly, of the ſeveral Methods which had been employed to draw all the Powers of *Europe* into this Treaty. This Anſwer however did not explain clearly enough, that the Emperour, during the King of *Spain*'s Life, would not poſſeſs himſelf of any Part of the Dominions of that Prince. And indeed, Marquiſs *de Villars* repreſented this to Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits*, who anſwered him, that this Article was included in the Promiſe, of not marching any Troops into *Italy*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* replied, that Troops might march, and yet not poſſeſs themſelves of any Place; that the King of *Spain*'s Viceroys or Governours might, according

1700. according to the Orders they receive from their Maſter, recognize either the Emperour or the Archduke for their Sovereign. However, theſe Anſwers did not produce any Alteration in the Anſwer, which accordingly was ſent away without the leaſt Modification.

Two Couriers arrived at *Vienna*, the firſt of whom brought Advice of the Pope's being at the point of Death, and the other of his Demiſe, in the Night of the 27th or 28th of *September*. The Court of *Vienna* flattered it ſelf, that the Pontiff who ſhould be elected in his room, would be favourable to his Intereſt; and that the Fear all the *Italians* in general would be under, of falling into the Hands of the King of *France*, would raiſe up Friends and Allies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

A ſecond Courier ſent from his Majeſty, brought Advice to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that one had paſſed thro' *Paris*, (ſent from *Madrid*) with Advice to the Elector Palatine of the King of *Spain*'s Death, on the 2d of *October*. The King told Marquiſs *de Villars*, that tho' he had not received any Advice from his Miniſter at *Madrid*, he yet could not doubt the Truth of that News. He therefore ordered him to deſire an Audience of the Emperour,

Emperour, and to tell this Monarch once for all, that, if he were deſirous of avoiding a War, he muſt ſign the Treaty of Partition; that he was going to ſend Marquiſs *d'Harcourt* to *Bayonne*, to command all the *French* Forces diſperſed along the Frontiers of *Spain*; that the choice of a third Prince, to whom the united Powers allotted the Part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy which related to the Archduke, ſhould be made immediately; and that the Court of *Vienna* had now no time to loſe, but muſt immediately declare it ſelf. 1700.

Theſe two Couriers were followed by a third, who contradicted the News of the King of *Spain*'s Death; for which reaſon Marquiſs *de Villars* delayed the Audience he had been ordered to demand.

In the mean time the Court of *Vienna* was very induſtrious in making it ſelf Friends. The Duke of *Hanover* was already engaged to the Emperour, for his having promoted him to the Dignity of Elector; and the Elector of *Brandenburg* was no leſs attached to him, from the Hopes he entertained of being raiſed to the Kingly Dignity, which the Emperour was deſirous of keeping ſecret. However, this was no longer doubted, when 'twas known that the Elector had cauſed a Crown, and the ſeveral regal Ornaments

1700. ments to be made. Nor was even his Treaty with the Emperour a ſecret, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours which had been uſed to keep it ſo; and 'twas known, that one of the firſt Articles was, to keep eight thouſand Men in Pay, in caſe a War ſhould break out for the Succeſſion of *Spain*; to give up the long-ſtanding Debt which the Houſe of *Auſtria* owes to thoſe of *Brandenburg*, and the Loan of ſome Millions of Florins: all this was concealed with the utmoſt Secrecy.

In the mean time the Emperour did not cauſe his Troops to advance near *Tirol*. He was very ſenſible that thoſe of *France* would arrive firſt in the *Milaneze*, as they were lodged on the Frontiers of *Piedmont*; and that they might get the ſtart of his, as they were ſo ſlow in recruiting.

This Prince had an infallible Method of paying off all the Arrears he owed his Troops. There was not a ſingle Regiment to which he was not indebted in conſiderable Sums; and as moſt of the Emperour's Officers were afraid of being caſhiered, they agreed to give up their Arrears, upon Condition they might be ſure of ſtill keeping their Commiſſions. The Emperour was reſolved to keep up all

all his Forces, whence a ſure Profit would have accrued; nevertheleſs, the Irreſolution uſual to Courts, and the Avarice of thoſe who were to pay off the Arrears, prevented the Emperour from ſaving any thing on this occaſion, he paying them all; and yet the Regiments did not receive a third part of the Money, and the other two Thirds were pocketted by Perſons, who, by Aſſignments, procured the Arrears to be made payable to themſelves, upon their advancing the Money for the Soldiers; an Artifice but too common in Courts. 1700.

Advices relating to *Madrid* came from every quarter to *Vienna*, and all ſo ſtrongly confirmed the daily expected News of the King of *Spain*'s Death; that the Imperial Miniſters could not wonder that Marquiſs ſhould be ſo very urgent with them to declare themſelves. The Nomination of a third Prince ſtill exaſperated them; and notwithſtanding the Danger they ran, in delaying coming to a Reſolution, they could not poſſibly forgive ſuch a Menace. They met ſeveral times, at the earneſt Requeſt of Marquiſs *de Villars*. The Perſons who were ordered to examine an Affair of ſo much Importance, were Counts *Harach*, *Kaunits* and *Mansfeld*; Count *Walſtein* Lord High-Chamberlain, and the

1700. the Court-Chancellor. But the two former had the greateſt Share in the Emperour's Confidence, and had even treated with the Marquiſs on certain Points of which the reſt had not been informed.

Count *Kaunits* ſaid to Marquiſs *de Villars : Such Propoſals will be made you, as you certainly ought never to refuſe : But in caſe you depend on* Great-Britain *and* Holland, *we don't know what to ſay to you.* He then aſſured Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he ſhould ſoon have an Anſwer; and indeed he would have received it, had not a Courier arrived who ſet out from *Madrid* the 3d of *October*, and whoſe Letters brought ſome Hopes, that his Catholick Majeſty might recover.

Now we are upon the Dilatorineſs of the Court of *Vienna*, it may not be improper to ſay a Word or two concerning the order of the Debates, and the Councils which were held there.

The five Miniſters who were appointed to examine every Thing relating to the Succeſſion, and the Treaty, aſſembled at the Houſe of the oldeſt of thoſe Miniſters, with a Referendary or Secretary who wrote down their various Opinions, copied them fair, and afterwards gave an Extract of them to Count *Harach*. The latter reported the whole to the Emperour, and

received his deciſive Order; except his Im- 1700.
perial Majeſty might command, that this
Affair which had been directed by the five
Miniſters, ſhould be debated alſo in his
Preſence, by the ſeveral Miniſters of the
Conference. Thus, beſides their natural
Slowneſs, the peculiarity of their Manner
of treating occaſioned freſh Delays.

Scarce a Day paſſed but ſeveral Couriers arrived at Court, either directly from *Madrid*, or by the way of *Barcelona*, and *Genoa*; ſome of whom confirmed the probability of his Catholick Majeſty's approaching Exit; whilſt others ſeemed to hope he might live a little longer.

On theſe contradictory Advices, Count *Harach*, who had promiſed Marquiſs *de Villars* a poſitive Anſwer, the 25th of *October*, told him, he could not give it him yet, nor even fix the Day when it would be given.

There was a Conference the ſame Day, the 25th, at which the King of the *Romans*, with the Chiefs of the Councils, aſſiſted, tho' they generally were not invited to ſuch as related to the preſent Affair. It laſted upwards of five Hours, and was compoſed of Cardinal *Collonits*, the Prince of *Salm*, of the Counts *Harach*, *Walſtein*, and *Mansfeld*;

1700. of the Chancellours of *Bohemia* and *Austria*; of the President of War; of the Counts *Kierker* and *Kaunits*; of the Vice-president of the Chamber, and of all the Referendaries of the Councils. This Conference was a kind of Supreme Council, in which there probably was required the Consent of all the States, in order to fix upon a final Resolution.

This Conference, held at the Emperour's, was followed by another the same Day, at Count *Harach*'s. It was composed of the same Ministers, and lasted till Midnight. The Day after, the President of War, and the Chancellour of the Court, met at Count *Kaunits*. They sat there upwards of five Hours with a Secretary only, and, as was supposed, in their View of regulating the several Marches of the Troops. 'Twas even thought, that a Resolution was taken to bring forward a considerable Body towards *Tirol* and the Frontiers of *Friuli*.

'Tis certain that the Court of *Vienna* surprised at first by the News which was brought of the King of *Spain*'s Death, and which proved false, did not know how to determine. Their Abhorrence of the Treaty of Partition, would perhaps have yielded to the Necessity of their submitting to it; but the News proving false they

they began to flatter themſelves with the Hopes of ſome more favourable Juncture hereafter. The Birth of an Archduke revived their Courage, and they no longer doubted of what was called the Miracle of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; that is, of meeting again with unforeſeen Reſources, in the various Dangers to which it was expoſed. 1700.

Count *Kaunits* ſaid, on this Head, to Marquiſs *de Villars*, who was ſtill very urgent with him to anſwer; *Why will you diſturb, by ungrateful Intreaties, the Joy which the Birth of an Archduke gives us?* Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered; *'Tis in Order to render your Joy laſting, that I ſhould be glad you would come to a wiſe Reſolution, in order to eaſe yourſelves of all Anxiety for the future.*

The Diſcourſes of Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* ſtill ſhewed, that they would ſoon come to a Reſolution, in caſe the King would purſue his true Intereſt, which was, not to unite in any Manner with *Great-Britain* and the United Provinces; that he ought not to be ſurprized at their ſcrupling to give a deciſive Anſwer, with regard to the Propoſal, of ſigning the Treaty of Partition; that the very firſt Overtures which were made them of it, fill'd them with Horror; and that they

1070. could not remove it, during the three Months which had been allowed them to deliberate: Such, at laſt, was Count *Harach*'s Anſwer, as tis here told, as well as that which related to the Princes who oppoſed the ninth Electorate. 'Twas his Majeſty's Intereſt to ſupport them, ſo long as he ſhould be in doubt whether there would be Peace or War; and this Doubt could not ceaſe, but by his treating directly with the King. This the Emperour was very deſirous of; he being abſolutely reſolved not to conſent to the Treaty of Partition, to which he refuſed, a ſecond time his Aſſent: firſt, when Marquiſs *de Villars* gave the firſt Advice of this Treaty; and ſecondly, at the Expiration of the three Months which had been allowed.

The ANSWER *made by the Emperour, the* 5th *of* November 1700, *to the laſt Inſtance made with regard to the extreme indiſpoſition of his Catholick Majeſty.*

" HIS Imperial Majeſty has com-
" manded us to inform you, that
" he has already declared once, That he
" thought it indecent and unjuſt to treat
" or agree upon, the Succeſſion or Par-
" tition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, during
" the

" the Life of his Catholic Majeſty. And, 170[illegible]
" after the Proteſtations made by our
" moſt auguſt Sovereign in every part
" of *Europe*, he is confirmed in his Opi-
" nion, from the Hopes he ſtill entertains,
" that God, after having ſo deeply af-
" flicted the abovementioned Prince with
" Sickneſs will reſtore him to perfect
" Health.

" His Imperial Majeſty repeats the
" Aſſurances he has already given, that
" he ſtill continues in the ſame Senti-
" ments, and has the ſame Deſire to live
" in uninterrupted Peace, and preſerve a
" ſincere Friendſhip with his moſt Chri-
" ſtian Majeſty; as alſo to obſerve religi-
" ouſly, during the Life-time of the King
" of *Spain*, (provided *France* will do the
" ſame Thing) the Declarations lately
" made.

The ANSWER *made by the Emperour, concerning theſe Particulars which relate to the correſpondent Princes.*

" HIS Imperial Majeſty has ordered
" me to acquaint Marquiſs *de Vil-*
" *lars*, that when he firſt intended to cre-
" ate a nine Electorate, he communicated
" his Deſign to the College of Electors;
" that when the Princes firſt made their

1700. " Complaints, 'twas declared to them,
" (and the ſame Declaration was repeated
" when the Deputies of *Nuremberg*, were
" at *Vienna*) *viz.* That the Elector
" ſhould not be introduced, till the
" Princes had been conferred with; and
" a Commiſſion, to this Purpoſe, was
" given the Elector of *Mentz*. At the
" ſame Time, an Offer was made, that
" in caſe the Expedients propoſed by the
" ſaid Elector of *Mentz* were not ſatisfa-
" ctory to them, thoſe Princes had no
" more to do, but to propoſe ſuch Ex-
" pedients as ſhould be practicable; and
" that the Emperour would do all in his
" Power to forward them. For this Rea-
" ſon, his Imperial Majeſty does not think
" they have any reaſon to have Recourſe
" to foreign Guarantees; eſpecially as
" not a Word is mentioned, either in the
" Treaties of *Weſtphalia*, or in the golden
" Bull, any more than in the following
" Treaties which forbid the creation of
" of any new Electorate.

" Farther, the Emperour is of Opini-
" on, that the Explanation of this Inſtru-
" ment of Peace, does not belong to
" this Number of Princes only, but that
" it ſhould relate to the other Princes,
" and to the Empire in general; ſo that,
" the Emperour hopes, his moſt Chriſti-

" an

" an Majeſty will requeſt thoſe Princes, 1670.
" not to diſturb the Tranquillity of the
" Empire, ſince the King will doubtleſs
" be perſuaded, that no Perſon can, or
" ought to have greater Regard to their
" Rights than the Emperour himſelf,
" ſince 'tis his Intereſt to preſerve the
" Empire peaceably and undiſturbed;
" and that 'tis his Opinion, his Maje-
" ſty will never make this an Oppor-
" tunity, to interrupt the Tranquillity of
" it."

In the mean time, Marquiſs *de Villars* deſired to return to *France* for a few Days, to look after his private Affairs: He even acquainted Marquiſs *de Torcy* by Letter, that he would ſend him a Copy of the Route he ſhould take, Poſt by Poſt, in order that if the King of *Spain* ſhould die whilſt he was upon the Road, they might know where to find him; and that he might return to *Vienna*, from the very Gates of *Paris*, without entring it, in caſe the Affairs of his Majeſty ſhould require it.

Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits*, hearing of Marquiſs *de Villars*'s Intention to leave *Vienna*, ſaid to him; *In caſe you return to* France, *and his Catholic Majeſty ſhould die in the mean time, return hither. Some-*

1070. *times the greateſt Affairs are Tranſacted in a few Moments.* But Marquiſs *de Villars* had ſufficiently known, and ſo well explained the Intentions of his Imperial Majeſty, that the King was certain the Emperour deſired ſincerely to treat directly with his Majeſty.

He nevertheleſs ſtill reſolved to ſtand by the Treaty of Partition, and Marquiſs *de Villars* was ordered, by a Letter from the King, dated the 7th of *November*, to declare to the Emperour, that his Troops extended along the Frontiers of *Spain*; that they were quartered in *Dauphiné*, in order that they might be ready to aſſiſt his Projects, and the Prince whom the contracting Powers ſhould nominate in the Room of the Archduke, in caſe the Emperour ſhould ſtill refuſe to ſign the Treaty of Partition.

In the midſt of theſe Conjunctures, the Emperour's Council was prodigiouſly divided; and Count *de Jerguer*, a worthy, ſincere Gentleman, at his coming from a very long Conference, in which the preſent Affair had been debated, ſpoke as follows to Marquiſs *de Villars*; *When People come and tell me that the King of* Spain *is in good Health, and that they even fancy he may ſtill have Children; I laugh in their Faces, and anſwer, That I, indeed, have a*

ſtrong

ſtrong belief of paſt Miracles, but that as to pre- 1700.
ſent ones, I am leſs diſpoſed to believe them; That I my ſelf look upon the King of Spain *as dead; and that we ought to act, as tho' we expected to receive the News of it to-morrow.* Marquiſs *de Villars* aſked, In caſe this ſhould happen, what was Count *de Jergurs* Opinion on this Head? He anſwered; *I will not tell you the Sentiments of others, nor the Deſigns of the Sovereign; but with reſpect to my own, I ſhall not conceal them from you. I don't mention the Emperour's Rights nor thoſe of your Maſter; we are not to diſpute upon that. But thoſe of your great King, the greateſt that ever was, are ſupported by his good Conduct and his wiſe Foreſight. They are really the ſtrongeſt, becauſe he enforces them by the Power of his Arms and his Alliances. But in fine, the Emperour has ſome Rights which we ought to conſider as moſt valid; and you would not have that Prince have nothing, when you join ſuch important Kingdoms to your Crown. You offer us a Partition for the Archduke; and with regard to this Partition, as it now ſtands, I told the Emperour, that the Archduke would be happier in being Duke of* Carniola, *than a titular King without the Power. This therefore is my Opinion, that we ought to prepare for War, and ſeize upon all we can of the Succeſſion.*

Here

1700. Here Marquiſs *de Villars* aſked him, what he thought the Emperour would gain by the War, ſince he himſelf owned 'twas impoſſible to reſiſt a Monarch, who joined to the vaſt Number of Forces in his own Dominions, thoſe of his Allies. To this Count *de Jerguer* replied: *You have play'd your Cards very well; however, we have ſtill ſome Reſource left. I have proved to the Emperour, that he may maintain an hundred thouſand Troops, excluſive of thoſe he may raiſe in* Hungary, *at a very low Price. We certainly ſhall not begin the War on ſo ſure Grounds as you; but when once the War is begun, the Event of it is uncertain. In a Word, the Reſolution in which I am fixed, is glorious, and Reſources will be found in caſe it be followed; whereas, if we agree to the Treaty, the Emperour will certainly ruin both his Honour and Fortune. In fine, I am for War.*

Count *Mansfield* was of the ſame Opinion, and Count *Kaunits* almoſt joined in it. As for Count *Walſtein*, he relied in the Miracle which ſhould be wrought in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: The Preſident of War was not able to debate, he being in ſo ill a State of Health, that he could ſcarce undergo the Fatigue of being carried to the Council: The reſt of the Miniſters were not ſo much for War, and the

the diverſity of Opinions was ſo great, that 1700
they did not come to any fix'd Reſolution.

The Princes of *Savoy*, of *Commerci*, and *Vaudemont*, the firſt of whom ought to have had a Seat in the Council, ſaw, with Pleaſure, that War ſeemed now unavoidable, and ſeemed very much ſurpriſed, that no greater Preparations were made for it. Upon the whole, Marquiſs *de Villars* was of Opinion, (and wrote Word to his Majeſty) that it would not be proper to preſs the Court of *Vienna* any farther, but that they muſt wait for the critical Minute; that then the Imperialiſts would be forced to come to a Reſolution; and that as for himſelf, he was convinced this would be the moſt favourable Minute; for concluding immediately with them, to his Majeſty's Advantage.

At a Conjuncture when his Imperial Majeſty was in ſo much want of good Servants, the Prince of *Baden*'s Enemies did all that lay in their Power to ruin him; ſo true it is, that Court Factions, wholly regardleſs of the Intereſt of the Sovereign, always get the better of worthy Men. No one has experienced this ſo much, as Marquiſs *de Villars*, as we ſhall ſhew in the Courſe of theſe Memoirs; for after the Marquiſs in the laſt War, had four or five times reſcued his Country out of the greateſt

1700. greateſt Dangers; immediately after the Army under his Command was weakned, and the moſt important Employments were beſtowed on other Officers.

The Prince of *Salm* was ſtrongly in the Intereſt of the Prince of *Baden*, and even Count *Kaunits* uſed to tell the latter, that he ought to lay aſide a certain Haughtineſs, which deprived his Friends of all Opportunities to ſerve him; and gave ſuch Miniſters as were bent upon his Ruin, frequent Opportunities to vent their Malice.

In the mean time, the Imperial Court began to think more ſeriouſly of the Methods to raiſe Funds, and by a Levy of the hundredth Penny, granted throughout all the Emperour's Dominions, and by the Sums which the Elector Palatine advanced, the Imperialiſts found that they might depend on ſeven Millions of Florins, that is, fourteen Millions of *French* Money.

Whilſt the Courtiers murmured at the Indolence of the Emperour and his Miniſters, in ſo important a Conjuncture, an Opera happened to be played, the Author of which was pretty ſevere in his Cenſure of this Supineſs. The *Dramatis Perſonæ* on this Occaſion were, Virtue, Honour, Vivacity, Diſquietude, Vice, Indolence, and Confidence. At the Concluſion

cluſion of the Piece, Virtue, being forſaken by Vivacity and Solicitude, and accompanied by Confidence and Indolence, are bound in Chains; on which Occaſion, Vivacity and Diſquietude ſpake in very ſtrong Terms againſt the Miniſters, part of which the Emperour might apply to himſelf. As the King had formerly done Marquiſs *de Villars* the Honour, to ſpeak in tender Terms about the Uneaſineſs of his Temper; the latter was not diſpleaſed to ſee in this little Opera, how neceſſary Diſquietude is to Virtue. He took the Liberty to mention this dramatic Piece, in his Letters, to his Majeſty; and was ſo free as to repreſent to him, that a certain Diſquietude ought not to be conſidered as a Fault; adding, that were his Majeſty to hear the *German* Officers diſcourſe on the Dangers they had run in the laſt Wars, he would find that the Diſquietude of a Lieutenant-General, who is deſirous of having an Advantage taken of certain Opportunities, ought not ſo much to be condemned as preſumptuous, as applauded for the Worth of its Zeal, founded on ſolid, but reſpectful Arguments with regard to the General. 1700.

The 18th of *November*, Marquiſs *de Villars* received a Letter from the King, which informed him of the King of *Spain*'s Death.

1700. Death. The like Advice was brought to the Emperour, by a Courier diſpatched from Count *Zindendorff*; and another who came two Days before, had prepared the Imperial Court for it. The Emperour did not admit any one to his Preſence for two Days, but wrote a Word or two to the Preſident of War, who immediately aſſembled the Velt-Marſhals then at Court, *viz. Caprara*, Prince *Eugene* and Prince *Commerci*.

The 19th a Council was held, above four Hours, at the Emperour's Palace. The Prince *de Litchtenſtein*, *Hayo* to the Archduke, was admitted into it, whence it was probably judged, that the latter Prince was to take a Journey to ſome Place.

The Day after, Monies were given out for remounting and recruiting all the Forces. The Emperour gave forty two Livres for every Trooper or Foot-Soldier, and an hundred and thirty Livres for each Horſe; but no Order was yet ſent for the Forces to march.

In this laſt Council, the Emperour delivered himſelf with ſuch a Spirit and Fire, as was not uſually ſeen in him; charging even his Miniſters with an Irreſolution, of which however, (if they might be credited) he himſelf was more guilty than thoſe he blamed.

They

They ſpent theſe three Days, and the greateſt Part of the Night, in Conference. Marquiſs *de Villars* ſaid to Count *Harach* and *Kaunits*: *The fatal Moment is come; will you then prevent the Evils which threaten the Empire?* Count *Harach* made only the Anſwer following: *We ſhall ſpeak to you; but 'tis not yet a proper Time for it.* 1700.

The Day after, News was brought that his Catholick Majeſty had made a Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, whom he had appointed his univerſal Heir. Marquiſs *de Villars* was informed at the ſame time, that the King had acquainted *Great-Britain* and the United-Provinces with his having accepted of the Donation; and was ordered to acquaint the Court of *Vienna*, that the Duke of *Anjou* had already been treated as King of *Spain*, and in conſequence thereof would ſet out the 1ſt of *December*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms.

Immediately a Reſolution was taken at *Vienna*, to ſend Thirty thouſand of the beſt Troops into *Italy*, and Twenty thouſand on the *Rhine*. And, to complete the Regiments which were to march, the Imperialiſts drew from thoſe of Foot which did not march, four Companies, to put thoſe which were drawn out to ſixteen

1700 teen Companies of an Hundred and fifty Men each, and a Captain of Granadiers, which made 2540 Men on the complete Standard.

'Twas reported that the Archduke would be ſent to *Inſpurch*; and there even was Room to ſurmiſe that ſuch a Reſolution had been taken, becauſe the Prince *de Lichtenſtein* aſſiſted at the laſt Conferences. An undoubted Circumſtance is, that the Emperour, being reſolved not to agree to the Treaty of Partition, had nothing more to do than to ſend immediately a Body of Troops into the *Milaneze*, where his Catholic Majeſty would certainly have ſent Orders for giving them a proper Reception. But upon the King's threatning to go immediately upon Action; and to enter *Spain* and *Italy*, the inſtant his Imperial Majeſty ſhould order his Troops to march, it broke a Deſign which many were deſirous of having put in Execution.

Prince *Eugene* was declared General of the Army deſigned for *Italy*, and the Princes of *Commerci* and *Vaudemont*, and Count *Guido Staremberg*, were the chief General Officers who were to ſerve in that Army.

The 24th of *November*, Marquiſs *de Villars* ſent to deſire an Order from Count *Kaunits* for the diſpatching of a Courier.

The

The Perſon who went to the Count's, ſaw him at home, but he nevertheleſs was told, that he was gone out at a Back-door, in order to wait upon the Emperour. That Evening, Count *Kaunits* ſent Word to Marquiſs *de Villars*, that he ſhould be glad to ſpeak with him next Day at Court; and informed him, that the Emperour being determined that the Marquiſs ſhould be ſpoke with in his Name, he ſuppoſed that he would not be unwilling to have the Departure of his Courier ſuſpended one Day. 1700.

Accordingly Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* ſpoke to Marquiſs *de Villars* in the Imperial Palace, and told him, that ſo many Couriers were arrived, that it had not been in their Power to devote one Hour in the Day to him; that beſides, he himſelf might conceive, that tho' the various Advices they received, could not produce any great Change in the Particulars they had to ſay to him, the Emperour was nevertheleſs very glad to be informed of the Contents of them; that one of theſe Couriers was diſpatched from *Madrid* to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at *Vienna*, and that this was the firſt they had received ſince the Death of the King of *Spain*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* anſwered, that he had not any thing material to inform his Majeſty

1700. Majeſty of, but that, in three Days, four of their Couriers were arrived in *Vienna*, and that the leaſt he could do was to diſpatch one of them, merely to inform his Court that nothing had been ſaid to him.

The 27th of *November* was paſt, and the Imperial Miniſters had not yet ſpoke to Marquiſs *de Villars*; and now the Report which began to prevail, that his Majeſty had accepted of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, deſigned for the Duke of *Anjou*, his Grandſon, did not give him Room to expect that the Emperour would make any conſiderable Advances.

Count *Wratiſlaw* was then nominated to go for *England*. He was the ableſt Miniſter in the Imperial Court, for carrying on great Negotiations; and the Choice the Emperour made of this Nobleman occaſioned a Belief, that the Imperialiſts deſigned to engage King *William* and the *Dutch* in Meaſures very different from thoſe which had been taken by theſe two Powers, ſince the Peace of *Ryſwick*.

Marquiſs *de Villars* received a Letter from the King, which informed him, that Prince *de Vaudemont*, Governour of the *Milaneze*, had already prevailed with the Inhabitants of it, to recognize the new King; that the Governours of the Low-Countries had done the ſame; and therefore,

fore, that 'twas probable all the reſt of the Monarchy, would pay the ſame Deference to the laſt Will of the late King of *Spain*. 1700.

This News dejected the Court of *Vienna* very much; and the Generals, who, ever ſince Advice had been brought of the Treaty of Partition, were of Opinion, that it would be proper to ſend an Army into *Italy*, declared (with a great Shew of Reaſon) that in caſe the Miniſters of his late Catholic Majeſty, who had determined him to deprive the Princes of his Houſe, of the entire Succeſſion, had ſeen Part of the Monarchy in the Emperour's Hands, they perhaps would not have been pleaſed, to give the reſt to a Prince of *France*; and that had there been no farther Hopes of beſtowing the whole Monarchy upon one Prince, the King of *Spain* would never have made ſuch a Will. Such were their Arguments, and they appeared very juſt. But Prince Eugene was never conſulted; and the Emperour took a Reſolution to ſend a Courier to the Prince of *Baden*, in order that he might come to *Vienna* with all Speed.

December the 4th, a Courier, ſent from Cardinal *de Lambert*, brought Advice, that Cardinal *Albani* was raiſed to the Papal Throne. The Cardinals had long ſuſpended

1700. pended the Election, from the great Neceſſity the Church was under, of ſeeking ſuch Qualities in the Perſon who was to be at its Head, as were very different from thoſe which generally promote to that Dignity. Cardinal *Albani* was not fifty, and he ſeemed in perfect Health. The Tears he ſhed when Advice was firſt brought of his being elected, denoted, either the Character of a Comedian, (for which his Countrymen are well formed by Nature) or a Weakneſs very different from the Courage ſhowed by *Sixtus* V. The latter, leaning on a Staff, and ſtooping very low before the Scrutiny was made, ſurpriſed the whole Conclave when it declared him Pontiff. He then lifted up his Head, and ſung *Te Deum* with a very audible, ſtrong Voice. Being aſked, by what Miracle he was grown ſo ſtrait, he anſwered, that the Reaſon why he ſtooped before was, to look for St. *Peter*'s Keys; but that now he had found them, he was able to walk upright.

And now Marquiſs *de Villars* again deſired to return home, vexed (with the greateſt Reaſon) to ſee Meſſ. *d' Harcourt* and *Tallard* ſo very amply rewarded, and nothing done in his Favour. He might flatter himſelf that, if the King had been ſatisfied with the Treaty of Partition, this Treaty

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